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— Florence King

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SPECIAL 1996 ELECTION GUIDE

NATIONAL REVIEW

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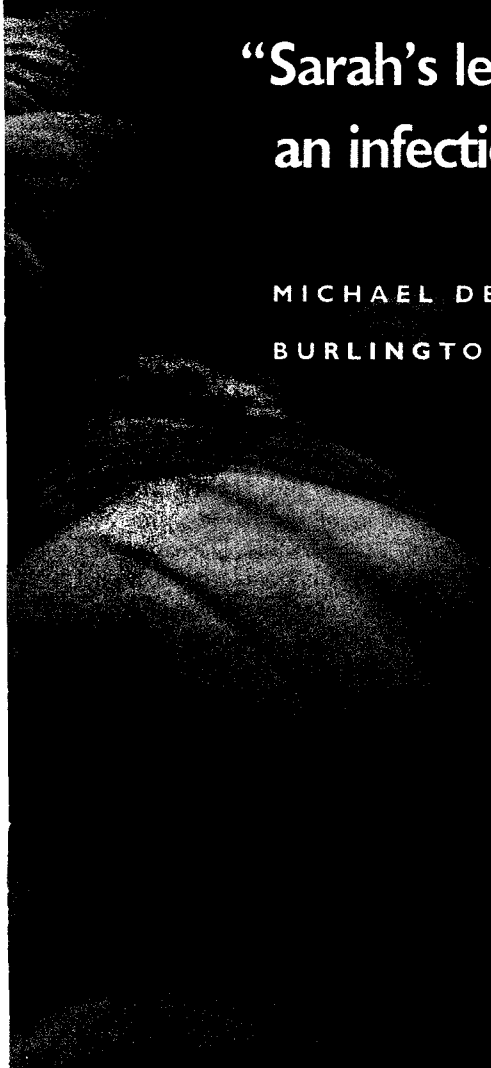
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NATIONAL REVIEW

OCTOBER 14, 1996 VOL. XLVIII, NO. 19

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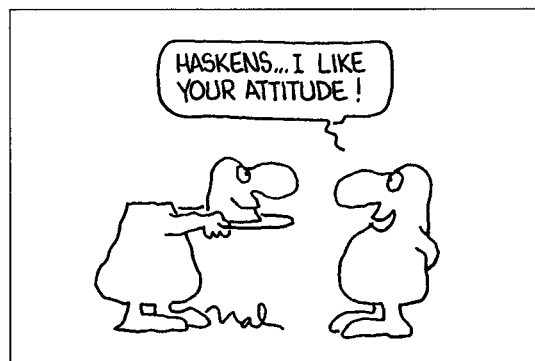
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Cover by Jeff Fisher



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LETTERS

Bleah!

Since the days of *Mork & Mindy* I have tried to express my feelings about Robin Williams. Unfortunately, I've never been able to put them into words. I thank John Simon ["Big Boys," Sept. 16] for having done it for me.

Patrick Hynes
Concord, N.H.

Wasted Chance

Joshua Muravchik's "Carrying a Small Stick" [Sept. 2] provided an outstanding survey of the Clinton Administration's foreign-policy blunders and general lack of direction. I was disappointed, however, that Mr. Muravchik omitted the fact that Haiti is yet another example of the failed Clinton "feel good" approach to foreign policy. In Haiti today, street violence, executions, and a huge black market continue with reckless abandon. Nothing even close to tolerable order exists. Justice is for those who can buy or bully it. Opposition leaders still disappear from time to time. In one incident, American security forces responded to gunfire in Port-au-Prince only to find a Duvalier-style execution of one of Aristide's main opponents had taken place. In short, nothing has changed, and given Haiti's history, who really expected change? In the end, all we have done is trade one despot for another and, with the help of the media, reinforce the false sense of moral self-righteousness in the Jesse Jackson wing of the Democratic Party.

But the greatest tragedy is not that Haiti hasn't improved. It is that we have squandered so much time and effort on a country of so little geostrategic significance during a rare period of history without a major crisis. We had a brief chance to catch our breath from the Cold War and focus on major alliances and future contingencies. Instead, we have wasted that chance and have nothing to show for it.

Mark B. Elfendahl
Fort Knox, Ky.

Strong Foundations

Georgie Anne Geyer's "Politics Is Job #1," [Sept. 16] distorts the purpose of the Ford Foundation's work and ignores the strength and independence of organizations like the National Council of La Raza and the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund. Our grants to Hispanic-led groups to strengthen their

communities and improve their level of participation in American society hardly constitute an "attack on American democracy," as the article asserts.

The Ford Foundation's dedication to the promotion of democratic values in America and around the world is clearly exemplified by our support for such activities as educational improvement, the rebuilding of poor communities through local initiatives, efforts to enforce anti-discrimination laws, awards for governmental innovation, and programs to advance human rights. The article also contains many errors, e.g., the Foundation's assets are approximately \$7.5 billion, not \$4 billion; our support to MALDEF represents about 20 per cent of annual revenues, not 33 to 50 per cent; La Raza may not have individual members, but it has more than 200 organizational affiliates. Its most recent annual conference drew over 3,000 participants from across the nation who came on their own initiative. Finally, La Raza and MALDEF have governing boards which set their policies and programs.

For a copy of our annual report, write to the Ford Foundation, 320 E. 43rd Street, New York, N.Y. 10017.

Susan V. Berresford, President
New York, N.Y.

I appreciate many of the Ford Foundation's programs, but in the crucial areas surrounding immigration and citizenship, the foundation's work is not dedicated "to the promotion of democratic values." Rather, its funding has led directly and irrevocably to the defeating of every bill and of every possibility of immigration reform. It has worked against the strengthening of citizenship and served to ensure the continued dismantling of the American polity into squabbling, bartering groups whose "group rights" will ensure a conflicted and increasingly disintegrative America.

My book, Americans No More: The Death of Citizenship, details how Ford's "lateral empowering" (my phrase) of otherwise impotent activist groups has served directly at every turn to thwart the will of the vast majority of American people who want immigration reform, border control, and strengthening of citizenship.

Moreover, these groups do not represent Hispanic Americans, who are exceptionally patriotic. The watershed 1992 Roper Poll showed that 80 per cent of Puerto

Rican Americans, 75 per cent of Mexican-Americans, and 66 per cent of Cuban-Americans favor reduced immigration. Indeed, concern over immigration has grown more over the last decade among Latinos than it has among the general public. All other surveys of Hispanic-Americans support these findings; they also show a 90 per cent support for English as primary language.

The \$4-billion number was the amount given at the time I was writing the book, and the exact amount of support to groups like MALDEF has always been open to interpretation. The point is that the amount is a huge percentage of MALDEF's income and that MALDEF would not exist without foundation funding, which hardly makes it a grass-roots movement.

My book states that La Raza has organizational affiliates throughout the nation, but I would argue that this does not qualify it as a representative group even of its own community, particularly since its agenda is so counter to the feeling of the majority of Hispanic-Americans. Perhaps that agenda was best expressed in a major foundation report by multiculturalist Robert Bach in 1993, when he stated that "the problem in America may not be diversity, but homogeneity." —GAG

Legitimate Data

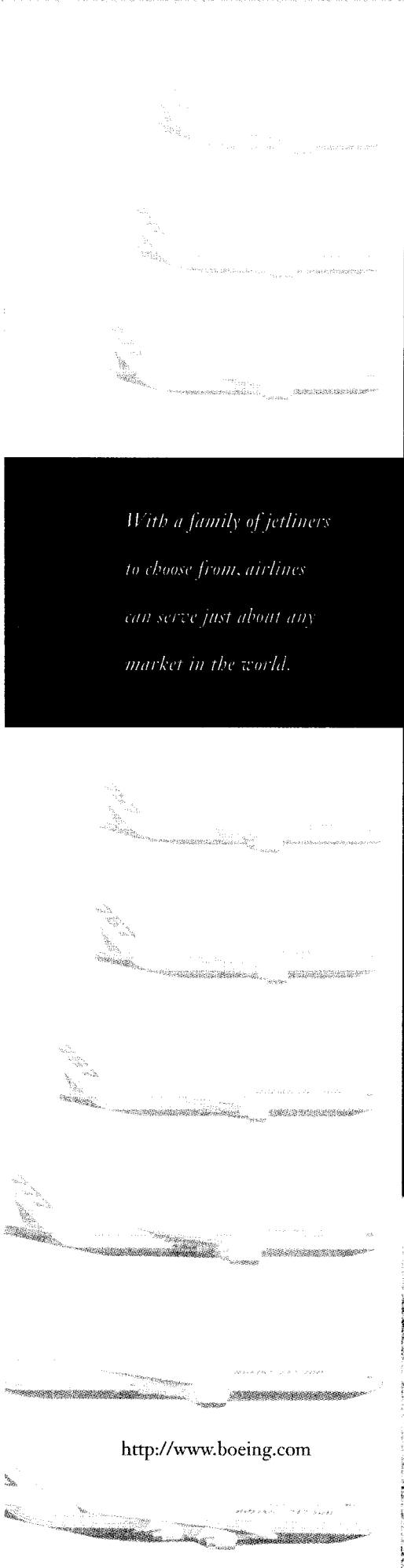
You might explain whether using three years of Michael Lind's data (1986-89) ["The Week," Sept. 2] to the exclusion of a quarter-century of data (all on Lind's one chart) is consistent with NATIONAL REVIEW's journalistic standards for accuracy and integrity. Indeed, contrary to your guided misreading of Mr. Lind's data, illegitimacy rates remained relatively flat from 1960 to 1986. Since NR believes that welfare encourages illegitimacy, you might further explain why illegitimacy rates in the United States are off the charts when compared to countries with far more generous benefits. You might also explain why illegitimacy rates are rising despite the fact that the inflation-adjusted value for AFDC benefits and food stamps (the benefits to which you allude) has declined by 26 per cent since 1972.

Thomas A. Adelson
Tulsa, Okla.

According to Mr. Lind's chart, the average unmarried black woman was expected to have just over one birth in her lifetime in 1960. By 1986, she was expected to have just under 1.5 lifetime births; by 1989, she was expected to have just under 2. To call this curve "relatively flat" is like saying that the borders of Germany were "relatively constant" from 1933 to 1939.

—ED.

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FROM THE EDITOR

If at First . . .

■ Well, I will say it: we told you so. In the aftermath of Desert Storm, NATIONAL REVIEW repeatedly warned that the U.S. policy of relying on an internal Iraqi coup to topple Saddam was a grievous mistake likely to cause future crises. Fifteen months ago, we wrote: "He'll be back; we'll regret it. And this time we put him there."

So pay attention to our advice now.

During the Gulf War, I ran into a Turkish diplomat at a United Nations cocktail reception. Fortunately I had just spoken to J. B. Kelly, the magisterial author of *Arabia, the Gulf, and the West*, and so I was able to offer the diplomat some sound strategic advice.

"There's a bonus for your country in this business," I told him. "How about seizing Northern Iraq, which contains some very useful oil fields, in return for Saddam Hussein's seizing Kuwait?"

"A little nineteenth century, don't you think?" the diplomat replied suavely.

But I detected some interest beneath this resolute diplomacy.

"Suppose," I continued, "that Turkey ends up occupying the territory as a result of the fortunes of war?" This time his smile was positively Sphinx-like. But he disavowed any Turkish expansionism, and glided away to safer company.

"Like Cyprus," I added to his retreating back.

I still think that I was right and that if Saddam Hussein had been deprived of the richest third of his country, he would have been effectively chained—or more so than by a "safe haven" which he can apparently take over at will.

But Saddam's latest venture gives us the pretext for reviving such a policy. Consider its advantages:

1) Ankara has a good claim to Northern Iraq since, as Professor Kelly pointed out in *NR* five years ago, plebiscites held by the League of Nations in the 1920s showed that a majority of its inhabitants wanted to join Turkey. Iraq is an artificial entity, cobbled together by the British to provide a country for their clients, the Hashemites. There is no

compelling reason to regard its present borders as sacrosanct.

2) Turkey—an ally of the West—would be strengthened by acquiring a large slice of oil-rich territory. It would then make a far more powerful force for stability in the region. But is not Turkey drifting toward Islamic fundamentalism and away from the West? There are some signs of this. But any such drift would probably be reversed, and certainly retarded, by 3).

3) Turkish occupation of Arab-held territory like Northern Iraq would be a barrier to better relations with the Arab world, and an incentive to closer relations with the West. Of course, sour relations with the Arabs would be a factor against annexation, but one greatly outweighed by the prospect of acquiring territory and oil: "Coin of the realm, Sir, worth a million pounds of talk."

4) It might even ameliorate the "Kurdish problem." Acquiring new territory might be compensation enough for Ankara to consider extending limited autonomy to a Kurdish entity, since almost all the Kurds would now be living under Ankara's jurisdiction. Kurdish-Turkish relations have hardly been warm. But the Kurds must reflect that anyone would be better than Saddam Hussein; the blow to Iraq would serve notice to Syria not to continue assisting the anti-Turkish PKK terrorists; and the U.S., as patron of both Turkey and the Kurds, would be on hand to mediate fair treatment.

5) Finally, the loss of territory might finally help topple Saddam Hussein and ease the lot of the Iraqi people. We should not be over-optimistic. Saddam has proved to be a great survivor. But even a surviving Saddam ruling a shrunken Iraq would be a better outcome than the present situation, namely, a buoyant Saddam ruling a larger Iraq and shrugging off our air attacks.

By the way, the first paragraph of this column was lifted from my column for October 17, 1992. It was entitled "Blinkmanship." —JOHN O'SULLIVAN

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FOR THE RECORD

■ Compilation of polls by daily political report *The Hotline* has **Bill Clinton** leading in 37 states for 428 electoral votes; **Bob Dole** leading in 13 for 101 electoral votes. . . . In California, Dole still trails by 17 points, with voters evenly split on whether Dole or Clinton has better ideas for handling illegal immigration. Dole would beat Clinton by just 30,000 votes in GOP-rich Orange County; typically, Republicans need to carry Orange County by 300,000. . . . *Wall Street Journal*/NBC News poll asks whom Americans would rather sit next to on a plane; 35 per cent say the Clintons, 23 per cent the Doles. . . . But first round of Louisiana Senate race provides a cautionary lesson against putting too much faith in polls: Republican **Woody Jenkins** surged to first-place finish shortly after polls showed him in fourth place. . . . In haggling over debates, Dole campaign succeeded in excluding **Ross Perot**, but gave way on all other fronts: there will be just two debates rather than the four the Dole camp pushed for, and one of them will be the town-hall format favored by Clinton. . . . Former Colorado Gov. **Richard Lamm** says Perot should be in debates even though the Texan refused to debate Lamm for Reform Party nomination: "Being individually hypocritical is a lot different from actually having an important message that the nation has to hear." . . . Dole's former chief of staff, **Sheila Burke**, is now splitting time between Harvard's JFK School of Government and Dole campaign.

■ ABC's **Sam Donaldson**, famous for shouting questions at President **Reagan**, says that except for CBS's **Rita Braver** he has "heard no reporters trying to ask the President any question" on the campaign trail. "[T]here seems to be a change in attitude toward covering the President. I'm not being critical. I'm just saying it has changed. Maybe they've figured out a better way." . . . A new Dole ad features footage of Clinton telling an MTV audience that he would have inhaled if he had it to

do over again. Asked by **Barbara Walters** about the MTV comment, Clinton responds: "I was trying to say that I actually tried. I was not trying to exonerate myself when I said I didn't inhale. . . . The important message is that these things are dangerous, that I wish I'd never done any of that, although I did such a little bit." . . . Clinton, triangulating away, is signing bills in defiance of his instincts, but visibly keeping his distance. He signs Defense of Marriage Act at 12:50 in the morning, on a plane. On welfare reform, he signs bill but says **Hillary** will have a role in fixing it in second term: "When I signed the bill, I said it was the beginning, not the end. And I think the real advocates of children, including the First Lady, have to weigh in here." . . . Liberal *Washington Post* columnist **Richard Cohen** recants his support for partial-birth abortion after reading report in his own paper that perhaps the majority of late-term abortions are not for medical reasons: "If, in fact, most women seeking late-term abortions have just come to grips a bit late with their pregnancy, then the word 'choice' has been stretched beyond a reasonable point. . . . President Clinton, apparently as misinformed as I was about late-term abortions, now ought to look at the new data."

■ The campaign in favor of Proposition



"To show they care about family values, Bob Dole's coming to babysit at 2, Bill Clinton will take over at 4, Jack Kemp will cook supper, and Hillary will bring the village to do the dishes."

209, a/k/a the California Civil Rights Initiative (CCRI), receives a faked letter from **David Duke** to Prop. 209 leader **Ward Connerly** saying, "I have enjoyed our conversations and look forward to working with you in the future. Your financial contribution was also very generous." Connerly has never spoken to or given money to Duke. . . . Rumors surface that officials in Illinois Democratic Party have asked Sen. **Carol Moseley-Braun**, dogged by controversy surrounding her visits to Nigeria and Gen. **Sani Abacha**, not to run for re-election in 1998. . . . **Ed Feulner**, president of Heritage Foundation currently on leave to serve as counselor to vice-presidential candidate **Jack Kemp**, has been selected to serve as president of the Mont Pelerin Society, prestigious free-market discussion group founded by **Friedrich von Hayek**. Past presidents include **Milton Friedman**, **George Stigler**, and **Antonio Martino**.

■ French Justice Minister **Jacques Toubon** is weighing legal action against ultra-nationalist **Jean-Marie Le Pen** for his espousal of racial inequality; relevant law imposes fines of \$60,000 and five years' imprisonment. . . . Six thousand Hmong refugees, last of the hardy mountaineers who fought behind Communist lines in Laos during Vietnam War, have left northeastern Thailand to come to United States, led by **May Kao Yang**, a 24-year-old who grew up in America. . . . **Ernesto Ibarra Santes**, 50-year-old Mexican federal police commander fighting drug traffic, was gunned down by AK-47 fire shortly after arriving in Mexico City, sixth senior Tijuana law-enforcement officer killed this year. . . . Pres. **Jacques Chirac** told Polish parliament he wants "sister" Poland in European Union by 2000. . . . In November **Helmut Kohl** will break **Konrad Adenauer's** record as postwar Germany's longest-serving chancellor.

■ After falling off that stage in Chico, Calif., Bob Dole tells crowd in Las Vegas: "Don't be afraid of standing close to the stage. I'm not gonna dive off today. I was trying that new Democratic dance, the Macarena." . . . As meltdown of GOP Congress continues, one Washington wag remarks: "For the first time in 42 years, Republicans have a chance to win control of Congress this November."

THE WEEK

■ Bill Clinton says he wants to send a robot to Mars. But what will the Vice President do when he gets there?

■ Democrats led by Rep. David Bonior (D., Mich.) are demanding that the House Ethics Committee waive its usual procedures and immediately release a preliminary fact-finding report in which the committee's outside counsel purportedly discusses the use of tax-deductible funds to support a history course Newt Gingrich taught in Georgia. Under committee rules, ethics complaints cannot be filed within sixty days of a general election, so as to avoid the very politicizing Bonior et al. are attempting here. Almost all Bonior's many ethics complaints about Gingrich have been dismissed or found to be minor or technical infractions. The Ethics Committee should not release its final report until it's ready. Meanwhile, it should commission one on the allegations of bank fraud, tax fraud, and financial-disclosure fraud wafting around Minority Leader Richard Gephardt.

■ Dick Morris wasn't on the cover for once, so in case you didn't automatically reach for the *Star* this week, you missed: DICK MORRIS PLOTTED GAY SMEAR ON JACK KEMP. "President Clinton's disgraced political guru Dick Morris revealed over pillow talk with Sherry Rowlands that Democratic operatives were running a dirty-tricks campaign against Bob Dole and Jack Kemp. . . . The sleazy tactics by Clinton's top political strategist are the latest bombshells in Rowlands's diaries of her year-long kinky sex-for-cash affair with Morris."

■ When Bill Clinton signed the Defense of Marriage act, he didn't do it at a Rose Garden ceremony with TV handshakes and multiple souvenir pens. He, no kidding, signed it at midnight on his campaign plane. The law that dare not speak its name.

■ In just the last two weeks, 6,000 people in Houston, 10,000 in Dallas, and almost 15,000 in San Jose have taken the oath of citizenship. In Chicago, an estimated 70,000 new citizens have been minted in 1996. The country has opened its arms to nearly 1.3 million new Americans this year—nearly triple the 450,000 welcomed in 1995, which itself was an all-time record, the previous high having been set in 1944. The Administration maintains that the mass swearings-in were designed to eliminate

the backlog of applicants who became eligible for citizenship in 1994 by establishing legal residency under the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986. But only 600,000 applicants were trapped in the INS bureaucracy. In fact, the \$77-million program called Citizenship U.S.A. is a Democratic campaign operation. According to Immigration and Naturalization Service records, local Democratic politicians and community groups were charged with shepherding applicants to the INS, where they would receive accelerated treatment. Background checks for police records have been sloppily performed, fingerprinting has been assigned to untrained volunteers, English-language tests have been administered in Spanish, and green cards (with a street value of nearly \$30,000) have not been collected after new citizens take the oath. The House Committee on Government Reform and Oversight is now investigating how many unqualified applicants slipped through the system. What about the unqualified citizens responsible for this affront to our laws and our society?

■ Remember the ban on HIV-positive immigrants? In 1992, Bill Clinton, trolling for gay votes, announced he would lift it if elected. In 1993, Congress replied by enacting the ban into law—and Clinton, reversing himself, signed the bill. Now Paul Mulshine, an enterprising columnist for the *Newark Star-Ledger*, has discovered that Clinton has quietly reversed himself again. This summer, the Administration told the Presidential Advisory Council on HIV-AIDS that infection with the virus is to be considered a "characteristic" that makes the victim eligible for political asylum. Already, an HIV-positive illegal alien has won asylum partly by claiming that there is no medical treatment for AIDS in Togo. "The Clinton Administration has in this instance outdone itself," comments Mulshine. "[It] took a law that made HIV-positive status a bar to immigration, inserted it into the intellectual meat

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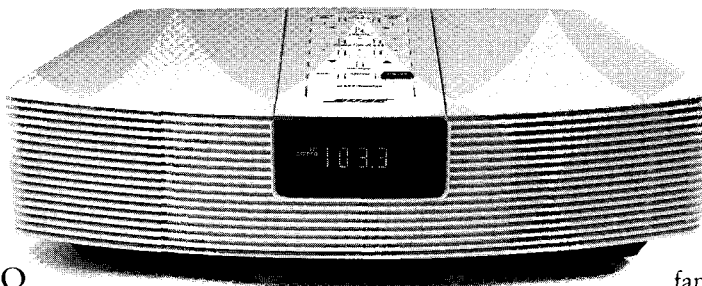
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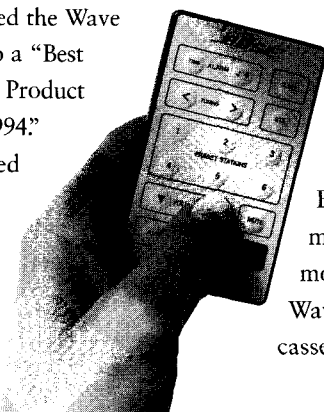
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The speakers in conventional radios cannot produce lifelike bass, which is essential for great sound.



Only the Wave radio with acoustic waveguide speaker technology produces high-quality sound with full, rich bass.

grinder and produced a ruling that makes HIV-positive a bonus." Over to you, Mr. Dole.

■ Since Jack Kemp will be around for several election cycles to come, what he said about Louis Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam should be tacked firmly into place. Kemp has made it his mission to bring the GOP to blacks. A million men is a bigger crowd than any other leader, black or white, could summon. Even in his original *Boston Globe* interview, Kemp began by placing his remarks in a general context: "In the black community, more and more black church leaders are telling men to be responsible fathers." Perhaps the most naïve thing Kemp said was his subsequent backtracking call on Farrakhan to renounce bigotry. Of course Farrakhan won't renounce bigotry—it is integral to his faith (which holds that whites are demons bred in prehistoric times on the island of Patmos). Kemp will show the greatest respect for blacks by giving them his message straight up—and since he won't be invited to any Million Man Marches, he'll have to keep doing it one man at a time.

■ When Bill Clinton vetoed the partial-birth-abortion ban last spring, he argued that the procedure is necessary to protect the health of expecting mothers in the third trimester of a complicated pregnancy. Women's health is very important to the President—but not more important than the right to abortion on demand. The Administration has rushed to bring the French abortion drug, RU-486, to domestic markets, recently declaring it "safe" for public consumption, even though there are clear signs that it is dangerous—and not just to the baby it starves and then ejects from the womb. Many of the women who take the pills complain of intense pain, nausea, and prolonged bleeding for up to 44 days; 2 per cent hemorrhage and require surgical intervention to save their lives. In the French RU-486 trials, one woman died, and others suffered heart attacks. Clinton has long maintained that he wants abortion to be "safe [and] legal" (forget "rare")—but evidently not in that order.

■ On September 19, prominent heart patient Boris Yeltsin signed a decree instructing the Russian "power ministries" (Defense, Interior, Security, and Foreign Affairs), which normally report to the president, to "coordinate

their activities" with the prime minister, Viktor Chernomyrdin. During any actual surgery, the nuclear button would be temporarily entrusted to the prime minister as well. But within a few days, Yeltsin's doctors were speaking of a one- or two-month delay of the operation, due to the damaged condition of the presidential heart. (They waffled on earlier reports that Yeltsin had suffered a full-fledged but well-covered-up heart attack in late June, between the first and second rounds of the presidential election. There are limits to *glasnost*, apparently.) Whatever happens in the Kremlin operating room, Russia is in for an extended period of unstable government—and the Clinton Administration's Russia policy, which has gambled everything on the personality of one man, hangs by a suture.

■ North Korea, with which the Clinton Administration so proudly forged a "new relationship" by the nuclear accord of October 1994, still carries on relations with South Korea in a very old spirit. Some 25 well-armed North Korean commandos sneaked ashore from a submarine near Kangnung on South Korea's northeast coast. Eleven crew members were found dead, either by mass suicide or murdered by their leaders; seven commandos were intercepted and killed by South Korean forces; one was captured. Others were missing and the object of an intensive manhunt, with the exact purpose of their mission as yet unknown. What is known is that the Clinton Administration will continue to prop up the decrepit but dangerous North Korean regime with food, aid, and diplomatic legitimacy.

■ Newly declassified government documents suggest that nine hundred American servicemen remained captive in North Korea after the prisoner exchange of 1952. That grisly medical experiments were performed on them sadly comes as no surprise—unlike the suggestion, backed up by incriminating documents, that President Eisenhower and his Administration knew of the fate of the missing servicemen from the beginning. The Defense Department estimates that there are 15 Americans alive in captivity to this day. Pyongyang's denunciation of the charges, of course, is meaningless, and Congress is right to ask questions until the question is resolved.

■ Iranian authorities have announced they will soon be producing "Islamic" CD-ROM video games, to counter "corrupt Western computer games." According to Mohammad Hussein Ali-Mohammadi, head of the Islamic Revolution Cultural Documentation Organization: "The enemy is targeting us with ominous and anti-cultural software." Coming soon: a video game inspired by the 1980–88 Iran–Iraq war, with texts in Farsi, Arabic, and English. Order yours now!

■ Freedom House, a secular human-rights group, has just issued a study called *In the Lion's Den*, which details widespread—and largely unreported—persecution of Chris-



The Downside

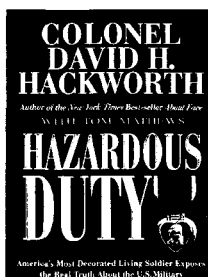
The gals who go for bonding

With guys at VMI

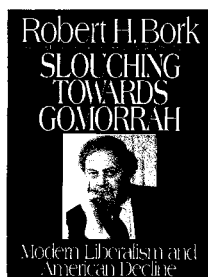
Instead of Randolph-Macon

Can kiss their perms goodbye.

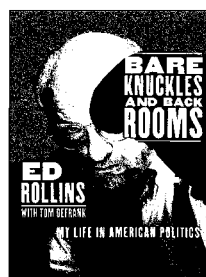
—W. H. VON DREELE



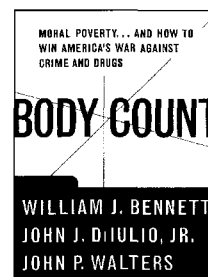
William Morrow
America's most decorated living soldier pulls no punches in calling political and military leaders to account for selling out duty, honor and country.
Publisher Price: \$27.00
Borders Price: \$24.30



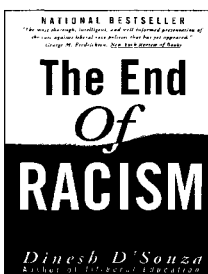
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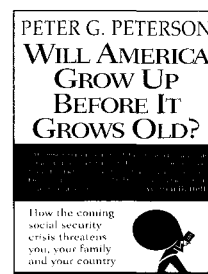
Free Press
In this daring exploration of the history, nature and ultimate meaning of racism, D'Souza breaks the accepted boundaries of discourse in America.
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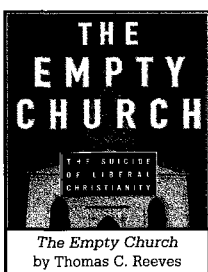
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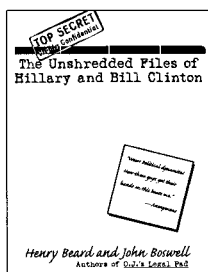
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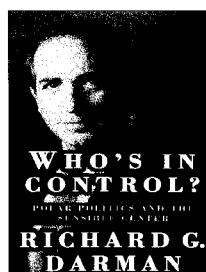
Random House
Peterson has devised a plan for a realistic resolution to the baby boomers' greatest challenge: retirement in the midst of a Social Security crisis.
Publisher Price: \$20.00
Borders Price: \$18.00



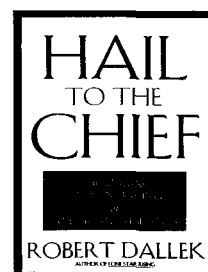
Free Press
Reeves advances his theory of how mainline Protestant churches have been co-opted by liberal secular forces whose agenda is far from spiritual.
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The team that uncovered the best-selling OJ's Legal Pad has now got its hands on the most devastating (and devastatingly funny) document of Campaign '96.
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Simon & Schuster
Darman explains how the pragmatic center in American politics came to be 'missing in action' in the momentous battle to define the role of the federal government.
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Hyperion
An award-winning author, biographer and historian looks to the past to find out why some presidents have succeeded and others failed.
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tians around the globe. Among the report's findings: 1996 has been "the most repressive period" since the 1970s for Christians in China, where police are circulating warrants for over 3,000 evangelicals; in Sudan, Christian children are spirited from their families and sold in open-air slave markets; and in Saudi Arabia, it is illegal to wear a cross, read a Bible, or even pray in one's home. Those who ignore such oppressions while claiming to speak out for human rights will be condemned by their silence. The book can be ordered by calling 1-800-451-READ.

■ Did President Reagan, CIA Director William Casey, and Pope John Paul II conspire to ruin the Soviet Union? *His Holiness*, by Watergate reporter Carl Bernstein and Vatican expert Marco Politi, says the Kremlin viewed the accession of the new Polish Pope with fear and anger (and, it should be added, probably was behind the assassination attempt upon him). The Reagan Administration put \$50 million into the anti-Communist Polish Solidarity movement, in return for which the Pope refused to criticize the deployment of a new generation of missiles in Europe, thus ditching the European Catholic Left. CIA Director Casey and former deputy Director Vernon Walters met secretly and repeatedly with the Pope, the three of them agreeing that Poland was the nationalist and Catholic weak point in the Evil Empire. In all of this, William Casey appears to have been the strategic thinker. His successful scheme to manipulate the international oil market in order to damage the main Soviet source of hard currency has yet to be fully explored. His support, legal and illegal, for the Contras issued defeats for the Communists in Central America. Casey's story may never be told—such was the nature of his role—but he looms still larger in *His Holiness*.

■ One, ah, footnote to the Dick Morris story. Even as he closed his \$2.5-million book deal, he was feted at a newsmaker's luncheon at *The New Yorker*. Such freak shows are typical of the tenure of editor Tina Brown (whose husband, Harold Evans, signed Morris's book contract). But how do her colleagues feel about them? Henry Louis Gates Jr., the respected Harvard professor? Henrik Hertzberg, the deft political essayist? Stylish James Wolcott? Earnest Ken Auletta? Any pangs, twinges? The averted face, the furrowed brow? Gentlemen?

■ The lead character of the Disney/Touchstone-produced sitcom *Ellen*, played by comic Ellen DeGeneres, will probably come out of the closet this season, becoming the first homosexual starring character on TV (there are already a number of minor homosexual characters on other shows). Already the air is dark with flying platitudes. "Ellen is trying to break new ground," says the actress's agent. "It reflects Hollywood's commitment to diversity," says a gay activist. On the other (our) side, some Religious Right types will boycott Disney, and some pundit types will uphold their right to do so. But is

that any less boring? The only way for conservatives to fight the culture wars in the long run is to become screen writers—and novelists, and poets. Poets *are* the unacknowledged legislators of the world. Men live by bread, and they live under laws, but they live for stories. If there are better stories than the ones liberalism tells us (and there are), someone must tell them.

■ The Board of Visitors of the Virginia Military Institute voted 9 to 8 to admit women for the first time in the school's 157-year history. Facing dim prospects for raising enough money to go private and maintain VMI's all-male identity, the Board took the only course left, a result ordained at least since 1990 when the Justice Department sued the Institute for violating the Civil Rights Act and the equal-protection clause by its exclusion of women. VMI superintendent Josiah Bunting, while insisting that physical requirements will not be lowered for female cadets, admits that even this last hold-out for the old standards is likely to open the school to further lawsuits. Trustee Anita K. Blair predicts that a "co-ed VMI soon will become indistinguishable from the existing cadet programs" at other public institutions. In other words, a co-ed VMI will no longer be VMI. Have the cadets look up "Pyrrhic victory" in their manuals.

■ Tupac Shakur, the 25-year-old gangsta rapper gunned down in Las Vegas last week, lived and died the ghetto life. The son of a Black Panther, Shakur achieved fame by glorifying violence, drugs, and the degradation of women. No hypocrite, he practiced what he preached. Arrested numerous times, in 1993 he went to prison for beating a video director in a parking lot. In 1994 he was given four and a half years for his part in sexually assaulting a woman (two friends were also involved) and served eight months. While he reportedly believed in "The Code"—a set of rules to stop violence in the inner city which required: 1) no drive-by shootings, 2) no random killings, 3) no drug dealing in the 'hood, and 4) no snitching—somehow, that wasn't enough.



Seasonal Concerns

*As ghouls inspect their wardrobes
And broomstick witches preen,
While pumpkins, facing surgeons,
Prepare for Halloween,
Big Labor stalks the freshmen
Like specters from a crypt,
Unleashing ads so frightful,
Blood oozes from the script.*

—W. H. VON DREELE

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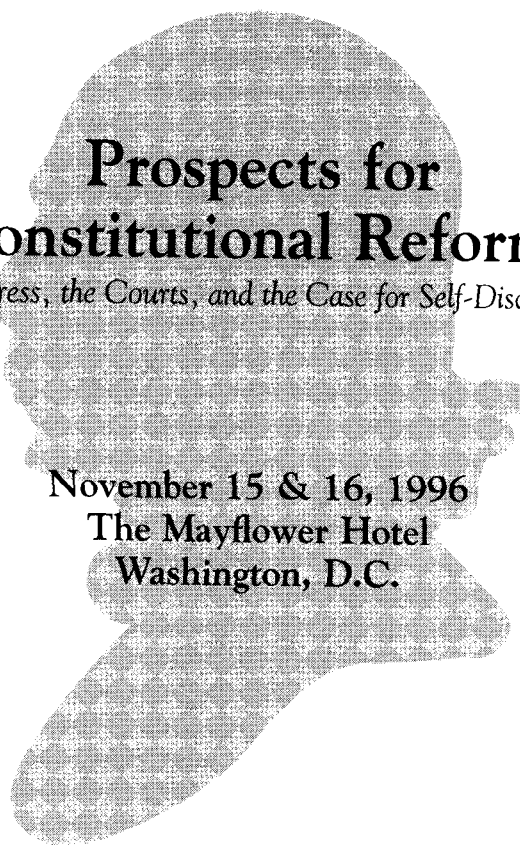
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*"The Federalist Society is...
returning the values and
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founders understood them to
scholarly dialogue and,
through that dialogue, to our
legal institutions."*

—President Ronald Reagan

■ CORRECTION: Michael Heise was misquoted in Michael Garber's "Wall Street PhD" (September 30, p. 57). The quotation should have read, "Investors are chipping away at one of this country's largest governmental monopolies. Were the wall separating private investment and public education to crack, the flood of private moneys into the education industry could be staggering."

■ President Clinton, says a White House spokesman, applauded Boris Yeltsin's decision to go public with his heart surgery as "a bold stroke that proved how important it [is] to be open about these sorts of situations." Apparently, since Clinton refuses to release *his* medical records, "openness" is only important in the Kremlin.

■ Using stealth technique to sign the Defense of Marriage Act did not keep Mr. Clinton off the gay community's radar screen. ACT-UP spokesman Steve Michael advised: "Bill Clinton shouldn't be denigrating loving, committed gay relationships. He should be taking notes."

■ The Dole agenda in a nutshell: It takes a family to raise a child; it takes a village to keep him off drugs.

Revolution on Ice

REPUBLICAN congressmen are not adjourning at the end of the month; they are *retreating* from an aggressive, confident Democratic Party. Worried that President Clinton might veto their appropriations bills in order to force another government shutdown, thus replacing the GOP's vaunted "record of accomplishment" with the memory of last winter's debacle, they have been seeking a Clinton signature at any price. So far, that price has included a \$6.5-billion increase in discretionary spending for next year. If that were the worst of it, it could be fixed with a rescission bill next spring. But the real price is far higher: Congress has enacted a series of health-policy changes that have moved America significantly closer to the ClintonCare whose defeat elected this Congress in the first place.

A bill introduced by Sen. Pete Domenici (R., N.M.) requires employers with over fifty employees to provide the same coverage for mental as for physical illnesses. It also gives broad new authority to the Department of Labor to monitor the private sector's employee benefits. Congress has also mandated that private insurers must cover at least 48 hours of hospitalization following normal births, an indefensible interference with private contractual arrangements that will be overseen by the Public Health Service. It is estimated that 7,200 new federal employees will be needed to oversee the new regulations of HMOs that Congress is likely to pass despite the lonely efforts of Sen. Don Nickles (R., Okla.). All this on top of the Kassebaum-Kennedy health-insurance regulations.

Speak Up, Please

*Southeastern Utah, where the rocks
Rise up like undigested lox,
And soaring buzzards peel an eye
For rodents set to putrefy,
Has been proclaimed a monument
On orders from the President,
Although a trillion bucks of coal
Lies just below. Hello? Bob Dole?*

—W. H. VON DREELE



Remember the chart Arlen Specter (R., Pa.) used to illustrate the absurd complexity of the Clinton health plan? Very soon, the Republican Congress will have put in place about a third of the colored boxes. Don't be surprised if in a few years many private employers and insurers, frustrated by intrusive and costly federal regulations, are agitating to complete the chart.

It would be churlish to deny the real accomplishments of this Congress. Discretionary spending has been cut compared to the previous year for the first time since 1969; the hated federal speed limit eliminated; the defense free-fall halted; a substantial, though overrated, welfare reform passed. Nevertheless, it is impossible to ignore the dismal fact that the sometime Republican Revolutionaries are running for re-election bragging that they abolished free ice deliveries to House offices. Speaker Gingrich now brings an empty ice bucket to every public appearance to dramatize the \$400,000 savings—but the empty bucket is equally symbolic of the philosophical content of this campaign. The revolution is on ice.

And the situation cannot be blamed on President Clinton's invincibility. Sen. Nickles, a rare member of Congress still willing to fight, has shown how to make the Republican case, call Clinton's bluff, and force him to fold the bad hand he is holding. When the Administration granted a waiver exempting Washington, D.C., from the new (and largely meaningless) five-year limit on receipt of federal welfare benefits, some Republicans mumbled about holding a hearing to review the action. But Nickles demanded that the Administration defend the sweetheart deal and that senators be held accountable. Within 24 hours of being blasted by the *Washington Post* editorial page, Nickles was featured on its front page having won a reversal by the Administration, which had suddenly discovered that the District had not followed "proper procedures" in seeking its waiver. The *Post* reported that the Administration's "unprecedented decision" to withdraw its approval followed the Nickles-led "GOP furor."

Nor can Bob Dole be legitimately held responsible for the congressional Republicans' current posture. Lord knows there are legitimate complaints about the Dole



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campaign, and NR has made most of them. But the flight from Dole's campaign is almost entirely the result of his low poll numbers, not of substantive missteps he has made. Republican congressmen have actually managed to position themselves to the left of Bob Dole. Dole is running on across-the-board tax cuts. With certain honorable exceptions—Rep. David McIntosh (Ind.) and Senate candidates Sam Brownback (Kan.) and Al Salvi (Ill.) come to mind—congressional candidates are not. Rep. Tom Davis (R., Va.) opposes the spending cuts that a tax cut might entail; Rep. Tom Campbell (R., Calif.) questions the supply-side math. Congressional candidates complain about Dole's inability to get his message across, but their silence has contributed to the problem.

A lot of attention is being given, not least in NR's special Voter's Guide in this issue, to the Republican Party's chances of keeping its congressional majorities. Given the party's recent performance, some conservatives may well

ask whether it deserves to keep them. If re-elected, Republicans may learn the wrong lessons and continue to provide cover for liberal initiatives. The alacrity with which the Republican Senate has been approving Clinton judicial appointees nullifies the most compelling rationale for keeping Republicans in charge.

There is still time for Republicans to win, and deserve to win, though time is running very short. Voters threw Democrats out of office in 1994 because their promotion of nationalized health care, tax increases, and social spending in the name of crime control represented a liberal agenda. When Republicans vigorously opposed it, they were rewarded. Bob Dole's recent application of the liberal label to Bill Clinton is an attempt to follow this successful formula, but it is made harder by congressional Republicans who provide the President cover in the name of bi-partisanship. They want to celebrate their record of accomplishment. Hold the ice.

Right Data

LET the 1980s be a lesson," the full-page ad warned. "The original supply-side concept of targeted tax cuts led to a general tax cut bidding war . . . This resulted in unprecedented peacetime deficits . . ." Even before Bob Dole announced his tax-cut proposal, the Concord Coalition attacked it for replicating the "mistakes" of the Reagan years. Conspicuously missing from the media blitz: hard data on what actually happened.

The 1981 tax cut occurred in two stages. Individuals making \$162,400 and above, including those at the top rate (70 per cent), received an immediate cut—to 50 per cent. All other taxpayers received a 23 per cent cut, phased in over three years.

The impact, at least for upper-income taxpayers, was dramatic. People making \$200,000 and above paid, on average, 22 per cent more in taxes in 1982 than in 1981; by 1985 they were paying a whopping 127 per cent more. In fact, by 1985 all income brackets above \$30,000 were paying more taxes at the new, lower rates than they had paid at the higher rates in 1981.

Nevertheless, federal revenues in 1985 were much lower, and the deficit was much higher, than the Reagan Administration had forecast. Critics blame the

so-called "rosy scenario," or unwarranted optimism of the supply-siders. But budget documents make it abundantly clear that the Administration *expected* total income-tax receipts to be less than they would have been had tax rates not

INCOME TAX COLLECTIONS AFTER THE 1981 TAX CUT

Income Bracket (\$1,000s)	1981	1982	1985	% Change 1981-85
0 to 10	\$8.0	\$7.1	\$5.5	-31.3%
10 to 30	95.2	86.6	73.7	-22.6
30 to 50	86.6	85.0	91.8	6.1
50 to 100	51.0	50.5	78.1	53.1
100 to 200	21.5	21.9	30.2	40.5
200 to 500	12.8	14.0	22.4	75.9
500+	9.0	12.6	27.0	200.5
Total	\$284.0	\$277.6	\$328.7	15.7%

Source: IRS

been cut. Administration officials estimated that 40 per cent of the static revenue loss would be recouped via increased economic activity. Only certain parts of the 1981 tax cut, notably the rate reduction on capital gains and on very wealthy individuals—were expected to "pay for themselves."

And they did. Lower tax rates induced many upper-income individuals to increase the size of their businesses, or restructure their investments in ways that exposed previously sheltered income to taxation. In many high-income families,

a non-working spouse was enticed into the workforce by the prospect of not giving 70 cents of every dollar earned to the government.

Reagan's original budget projected surpluses starting in fiscal 1984. What went wrong? The consumer price index tells the story. For 1981 the Administration forecast 11 per cent inflation versus 8.9 per cent actual; for 1982, 8.2 per cent versus 3.9 per cent; for 1983, 6.2 per cent versus 3.8 per cent. No one expected inflation to collapse as quickly as it did. Because the inflation forecast was too high, so were the forecasts of nominal GNP and revenues. This, says Larry Lindsey, a Federal Reserve Board Governor, explains two-thirds of the Reagan Administration's deficit forecasting errors.

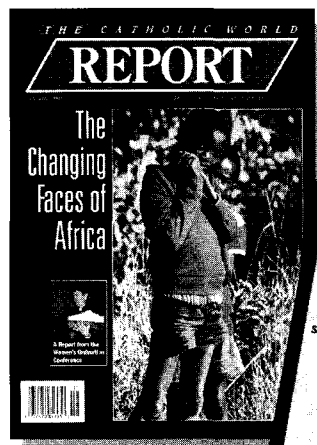
Furthermore, GDP was \$60 to \$90 billion higher because of the tax cut, according to Professor Lindsey's model. So for every tax dollar "lost," two to three dollars was added to national income. By the standards of most government programs, this must be judged a great success.

Some critics claim the 1980s boom would have happened with or without tax cuts. Achieving rapid growth, they say, is easy when you start from a position of widespread unemployment. But unemployment was low when taxes were cut in the 1920s and 1960s. The Kennedy tax cut triggered the longest expansion in American history. Clearly, tax cuts needn't wait until the economy is in recession. Bob Dole's plan deserves a chance.

—ED RUBENSTEIN

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CWFNA-X

Go West, . . . Man

THE curfew tolls the knell of parting day, and the Dole campaign has turned its thoughts to an Electoral College strategy: eking out a victory by carrying key states, let the popular vote go as it will. A desperate course. Winning campaigns are built on *electorate* strategies: appealing to broad classes of voters, or all voters together. Take care of the people, and the states will take care of themselves.

As it happens, there *is* a winning Electoral College strategy—but it requires a stern dose of issues. Most observers are advising Mr. Dole not to waste money and energy in California. Not for the first time, we differ. To abandon California would mean that Dole would absolutely have to carry four of the five largest swing states in the Midwest and East—Michigan, Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey—and even then it would be a close-run thing. How would he carry them? No one has yet produced anything like the winning formula. If Mr. Dole were to capture California, however, he could afford to lose all the above states. With Texas and the South under his belt, he would be home and dry.

Moreover, the issues on which he could swing California into his column are not merely available—they are blatant. As Governor Pete Wilson has pointed out, tackling affirmative action and immigration could even now ensure a Dole victory in his state. By concentrating his time and advertising resources in California, he would make those issues—on which President Clinton's stands are nationally unpopular but at present unknown—into the stuff of national debate. If nothing else, media attacks on the Republicans' outrageous nativism would ensure that. And Dole's secret weapon—Jack Kemp—would be a strong talisman against such attacks. Kemp is also a Californian, which can't hurt. So why, oh, why, oh, why, oh, bother with Ohio? Open up that Golden Gate, Mr. Dole; it leads to 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.

Why Iraq?

HALF a dozen years ago I began an article in NATIONAL REVIEW with the words, "Assuming, as one must (the alternative being too depressing to contemplate), that Saddam Hussein will be given his comeuppance . . ." But Saddam Hussein is still Caliph in Baghdad, his reputation undiminished, even enhanced, in the Moslem world as a champion of Islam against the accursed West.

What are we to make of the events of the past few weeks? Some three dozen cruise missiles fired into Iraq, half of which missed their targets; the CIA's operational base at Irbil, in Kurdish territory, abandoned in desperate haste; a hundred Kurdish operatives killed by Iraqi

agents; and two thousand more hurriedly flown to Guam, en route to the United States. Irbil and Sulaimaniya are now in the hands of the Kurdish Democratic Party, whose leader, Masoud Barzani, has entered into some kind of unholy alliance with Saddam Hussein—which did not deter him from flying off to Ankara in mid-September to talk to Robert Pelletreau, the U.S. assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern Affairs. To add to the confusion, the Arab states (with the impressive exceptions of Kuwait and Bahrain) have either kept silent or condemned the United States for its actions. And finally there was the U.S. aircraft carrier, rudely plucked, somewhat late in the day, from its placid anchorage off Cannes to head for the Gulf and . . . who knows what?

For the past 35 years Iraq has been nothing but trouble, either to its immediate neighbors or to the world at large. Witness, to mention only the highlights, its attempt to absorb Kuwait in 1961, its expropriation of the Iraq Petroleum Company a couple of years later, its bloody suppression and uprooting of the Kurds in the 1970s, its even bloodier war with Iran in the 1980s, and its invasion and occupation of Kuwait in 1990. Since the country is an artificial creation—an amalgamation of the former Ottoman *vilayets* (provinces) of Baghdad, Basra, and Mosul—and since the southern half, from Baghdad to the Shatt al-Arab, is predominantly Shi'i Moslem in religion (ruled by a Sunni dictatorship in Baghdad), why not, as I have suggested before, contemplate its dismemberment? The northern half (the old *vilayet* of Mosul), with its substantial oil reserves, could go to Turkey, while the southern half, the former *vilayets* of Baghdad and Basra, could constitute a rump state, modestly sustained by the oil revenues from the Rumaila and Khaniqin fields. There are a thousand and one objections to such a proposal; but what else is to be done, apart from allowing things to drift on as they are, hoping and praying that Saddam Hussein will fall to an assassin's bullet and that his successor will be a man of wit, charm, grace, and boundless compassion?

It should not prove impossibly difficult to convince the Turks of the desirability of taking over northern Iraq and its oilfields. The Kurds, of course, are another matter, and one would be foolish to understate the difficulties of bringing them to an understanding with Turkey. But they must surely be aware by now, even if the realization is highly unpalatable, that after centuries of trying and failing to establish an independent Kurdistan, there is really no alternative for them other than eventual absorption into Turkey, Iran, or Iraq. The real question for the Kurdish leaders is which of these known devils they could live with. The choice must surely be Turkey.

To deprive the population of lower Iraq of the greater part of the country's oil reserves would not be as draconian as it may appear. A huge proportion of Iraq's oil revenues over the past thirty years has been wasted upon the megalomaniac follies of the country's Baathist rulers. There is no reason in the world why, given a relatively competent and minimally honest government in Baghdad, the Iraqis could not derive from the southern oil-

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fields sufficient revenues to support them in the standard of living to which they have become accustomed. Then perhaps they, and their neighbors, might begin to enjoy some semblance of normalcy.

—J. B. KELLY

Waking Beast

THE recent Bosnian elections passed off quietly. But their effect was to legitimize the carve-up of Bosnia-Herzegovina along ethnic and religious lines. The elections were not, of course, free or fair. When the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, under pressure from the Clinton Administration, agreed in June that the elections should go ahead, its chairman stated that conditions for free and fair elections did not then exist. Nothing in the intervening period altered that situation. Indicted war criminals were not arrested. Refugees were unable to return home. In all three ethnic-religious entities—the Serb Republic, the (theoretically abolished but actually intact) Croat section, and the increasingly Muslim Sarajevo-government zone—television stations have relentlessly pumped out partisan propaganda.

AS NATIONAL REVIEW argued at the time, the American-imposed Dayton settlement was always likely to fail. Had Croatian, Bosnian Croat, and Muslim forces been allowed to roll back earlier Serb aggression completely, Bosnia could probably have survived as a multi-ethnic and tolerant sovereign state. Serb hardliners in Bosnia would have been discredited; Muslim and Croat leaders would have forgotten their own disputes in the afterglow of success; above all, American troops need never have been sent to police the complicated arrangements devised by the Dayton diplomats. But once the interventionist route had been chosen, it fell to the international community and IFOR (the Implementation Force) to honor their obligations, applying force where necessary against warlords who refused to disgorge the booty of ethnic cleansing. But the West had no stomach for that. So the disintegration of Bosnia continued, while international committees solemnly discussed how to keep it together.

War at some point seems inevitable. The Bosnian Serbs will probably declare a final break from Bosnia and union with Serbia as soon as they judge the situation favorable. For their part, the Bosnian Muslims and Croats have every reason to want to reverse Dayton's parceling out of land on a grossly unfair and entirely arbitrary 51 to 49 basis. American policy should now be based on this scenario. IFOR troops should depart on schedule by the end of the year; there is no point in their staying, since their task is hopeless. But their departure must be linked to providing the promised military assistance to the Muslim-Croat Bosnian Federation. A swift defeat of the Bosnian Serbs, completing the unfinished business of last summer, is essential if the bloodshed is to be minimized. Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic must be warned

against the consequences of coming to the rescue of the Bosnian Serb leadership. Meanwhile, Croatia should be encouraged to give substantial assistance to its Bosnian allies. And if the president of Bosnia-Herzegovina formally calls on Croatia to help defend his state's integrity, America will have to counter European and Russian pressure on Zagreb to stay out of the conflict.

Above all, America must persist in its one major policy success—promoting the Bosnian Muslim-Croat Federation. The Federation is currently beset by strains. But these difficulties will be easier to resolve if the rest of the land seized by the Serbs in 1992 is handed back. Crammed into too little living space, Muslims and Croats naturally chafe at each other. In the longer term, the West will have to tackle the fundamental problem which has promoted war and genocide—the nature of the regime and the political class in Belgrade itself. Until these are changed, the beast of the Balkans will not sleep.

Ode to Autumn

ONCE again the football season opens. The smack of the practice punt mingles with the smell of burning autumn leaves, and there is a chill in the air. Football weather.

In 1869, Princeton played Rutgers in a game that claims to be the origin of football—but what they played was really soccer. Harvard claims it started football, but what it was playing was really English rugby.

No, football was devised by Walter Camp of Yale. Once, when Knute Rockne was asked where his famous Notre Dame "shift" came from, he replied, "Where everything else in football came from. Yale."

Camp entered Yale as a freshman in 1876, the son of a New Haven school principal. Six feet tall and 157 pounds, he starred at tennis, crew, track, swimming. He is even said to have invented the curve in baseball. But about football he was obsessive. While still an undergraduate, he took part in discussions with Harvard and a few other schools about how to organize the game, and began to shape it.

At Camp's urging, the number of players was held to eleven. He helped formalize the seven-man line and the four-man backfield. He thought up the center-snap to replace the chaotic rugby "scrum." He also thought up the "downs" system (until 1882, a team retained possession until it either scored, fumbled, or kicked the ball away to gain better position).

Camp played seven years on the Yale team, including three while in medical school, serving as captain and coach. He never became a physician. Instead, he worked at the New Haven Clock Company and served as Yale's unpaid coach. When he had to be at the plant, his wife, Alice, daughter of Yale's pioneering sociologist William Graham Sumner, walked the practice sideline and took notes for her husband.

Camp had towering Victorian integrity. In 1885, the Princeton team had a game coming up against Yale in New Haven. They thought the previous year's referee, a Harvard man, was unacceptable, so he wasn't invited back. Remarkably, Yale's Walter Camp *was* acceptable. He called the game with ruthless impartiality, ruling against his own Yale team on two crucial plays as Princeton went on to win 6 to 5 in the final minute. Or as Theodore Roosevelt once wrote: "In life, as in a football game, the principle to follow is: Hit the line hard; don't foul and don't shirk, but hit the line hard."

McGeorge Bundy, R I P

MCGEORGE Bundy, who died at 77, was not simply the prototypical establishmentarian—a Lowell on his mother's side, Groton, Yale (Skull & Bones), aide to Henry Stimson, Harvard dean at age 32. More significantly, he epitomized—even more than his Kennedy and Johnson Administration colleague Robert McNamara—the establishment's loss of nerve.

Henry Kissinger put it succinctly in his memoirs: "I admired [Bundy's] brilliance even when he put it, too frequently, at the service of ideas that were more fashionable than substantial." Bundy, for example, provided much of the intellectual rationale for the program of gradual, calibrated escalation of bombing in North Vietnam that contributed to the ineffectuality of a war he later recoiled from when public (or, at least, elite) sentiment turned against it. He left President Johnson's employ to become head of the Ford Foundation, one of liberalism's prime movers in domestic policy. He spent his later years dabbling with McNamara and others in lobbying against Ronald Reagan's military programs and for unilateral American nuclear disarmament. He was undoubtedly a smarter man than McNamara, but no wiser in either political or moral judgment.

Spiro T. Agnew, R I P

YES, he was all of that. Tribune of Middle America, Voice of the New American Majority, Scourge of the Liberal Media, who didn't get it till he said it. The great "Spiro Is Our Hero" rallies of 1972, the 49-state landslide and a lock on the nomination for 1976. The defender of Richard Nixon as the Watergate tom-toms began to beat, with James Reston calling him "the personification of the Old American Verities," and his old-line liberal colleagues increasingly agreeing. The ardent wooing by neo-con intellectuals and academics of all stripes, just before the fall. Then the charges, the "I will not resign if indicted" speech in Los Angeles ("Play me some organ music, John," he had told me a week earlier) and, finally, *nolo contendere* and resignation.

What to make of it? There's the obvious, of course: Had not the political culture of Maryland been so strikingly similar to the political culture of, say, Arkansas, he would have been our 39th President. And were he running today, chances are the charges that broke him then would seem as irrelevant as Whitewater—they were much less serious, in fact.

But that's sour grapes. What he did, he did with great flair and effect. He permanently altered aspects of the national debate and gave respectable political focus to previously scorned political constituencies. His deficiencies are well known, and should not be confused with deficiencies in the ideals he personified. And beyond that, his accomplishments were real. The 1960s was an emotional, neo-romantic, and ultimately violent and revolutionary decade. The Nixon-Agnew Administration was hired to draw the line, end the uprisings, restore order.



The Week in Verse

The Top Ten signs you (if you're smart) can tell
Your *GOP* campaign's not going well:
'Mongst *Soccer Moms* there's still poor word of mouth;
You're not quite sure that you can hold the *South*;
September's poll numbers show no increase;
The *Democrat's* endors'd by the police;
The anti-gun crowd hate your guts, but they
Won't move th' endorsement of the *NRA*;
Few know or care you've promised a tax cut,
A balanced budget, or less crime and smut:
For these things too the other party stands;
You fall from off your platform shaking hands;
A sorry *Bill* the *Act* tries to disparage
Yet signs on to the new *Defense of Marriage*
At dead of night, still wearing his bathrobe,
And *Liz Taylor* calls you a "homophobe";
Your only hope when you're behind by miles
Is calling for release of doctors' files,
But even going negative sounds glib:
You have to sweat to make the *Dem* look *Lib*;
And here's the Number One sign that you blew it:
Four words—your much-hyped slogan—"Just Don't Do It."

As confidence grows every day more firm
He'll get his only wish—a second term—
So *Clinton's* actions more and more evince
The shape of things to come, and offer hints
Of what t'expect when leftism's the norm—
And *Hillary* reforms *Welfare* reform.
More fam'ly leave makes costs to business rise,
So it and work requirements both downsize;
Vast chunks of *Western* land, the feds'll grab it
And tax outdoorsmen (or so says *Bruce Babbitt*);
The stars of *Hollywood*, distant allies
For now, will twinkle in the *D.C.* skies,
But *Starr* of *Arkansas*, who's out to "get" him?
The *Clintons*, re-elected, can forget him.

—JUVENAL

That's what it did. It succeeded in carrying out its mandate. And Spiro Agnew was central to that success.

My own association with Spiro Agnew is tied closely to NATIONAL REVIEW. He called me at NATIONAL REVIEW in 1970, out of the blue, to discuss my book, *The Kumquat Statement*, read aloud parts he enjoyed, and said he was giving copies as Christmas presents. Later I joined his staff, and at the time of his resignation was his chief writer. During those years he asked me to stay close to the magazine, which he admired greatly, and continued to read through the years. I saw him last in May 1995, at the unveiling of his bust in the U.S. Senate, an event for which NATIONAL REVIEW's and assistant literary editor Matthew Scully had worked for four years.

Spiro Agnew was his own man, sometimes very nearly to the point of eccentricity. And generally, he was perceived as tough. ("The only way you can put a tough crust on a marshmallow is to roast it.") But there was something else. Richard Nixon is said to have observed, wondrously, "The Vice President is a soft man."

And in his own way, he was. During the weeks of emotional shellshock following his resignation, he worked hard to ensure that all his staffers had jobs. And though his dislikes were strong, he was never vindictive. In April 1994, he wrote me: "Judy and I will attend the Nixon funeral tomorrow. I have never fully been able to forgive the abandonment in 1973, but I have enormous respect for his accomplishments. Moreover, both Judy and I loved Pat and we think Tricia and Julie are first rate."

To which I'd like to add on my own, So were you, Mr. Vice President. In your own way, so were you.

—JOHN R. COYNE JR.

NOTES & ASIDES

■ Memo to: WFB
From: Linda

Catch this! Our own Bill von Dreele has become a poet laureate.

Mr. W. H. von Dreele
New York, N.Y.

Dear Bill:

On behalf of the Board of Trustees, I am pleased to invite you to Middlebury College to receive the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters at Commencement exercises Sunday, May 25.

This invitation comes at a time when Middlebury College has renewed its commitment to a program in literary studies without equal in the range, depth, coherence, and quality of its offerings on both the undergraduate and graduate levels. Your presence will attest to this institutional commitment as well as recognize your valuable lit-

erary presence within our own Middlebury community.

I very much hope you will permit us by your presence on that occasion to honor you in this way. Once I have received your reply I will let you know the details of Commencement weekend. I look forward to hearing from you and to having the opportunity to recognize you for your many accomplishments.

Sincerely,
John M. McCardell Jr.
President, Middlebury College
Middlebury, Vt.

Dear Bill: As you once reacted in another situation, "O frabjous day! Callooh! Callay!" We are all proud of you.

Bill

■ Dear Bill:

In "The Week," recently I read, "Being liberal like being in love means never having to say you're sorry." Me-thinks being liberal and being a Liberal are often confused.

Being liberal means being willing to give away something you have. Being a Liberal means being willing, even anxious, to give away something someone else has.

Regards,
Cooper Camp
Pembroke Pines, Fla.

Dear Mr. Camp: I like that. Thanks.

WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

In 1977 the Swedish TV talkshow *Kvällsöppet* featured a conversation between Olof Palme and Shirley MacLaine, which was recently re-run. As you know, liberals excel in tormenting themselves by always wrestling with the hardest of issues; for your reading pleasure, I have prepared a word-by-word transcript of her main statement that evening. "... I can't think of anyone else in the world to ask this to. But since I got back from China—and I've spent a lot of time in India, and certainly in the United States—so I'm very interested in Democracy working, and I realize that Capitalism is not compatible with Democracy. I realize that as far as an economic system is concerned Socialism is compatible with Democracy. Therefore, Democratic Socialism is the answer in my opinion. Now, when you have an essentially unenlightened public who has the freedom to vote against its own will—excuse me, against its own best interests—how do you square that with the lack of time on the planet?"

Given our 19-year hindsight, the precious time of Miss MacLaine and her busy lot surely must be up by now. But how did *she* square that?

Sincerely yours,
Torbjörn K. Nilsson
Umeå, Sweden

Dear Dr. Nilsson: Beats me. But thanks for passing along Miss MacLaine's aphorism. Cordially,
—WFB

ELECTION SCENE

Battle of the Bluebloods

JEFF JACOBY



BOSTON

THE voters of Massachusetts haven't turned an incumbent Democrat out of the U.S. Senate since 1946, when David I. Walsh was beaten by a blueblooded Republican named Henry Cabot Lodge Jr. Fifty years later, is another Democrat about to be pushed out of the Senate by a patrician Republican?

Sen. John F. Kerry fervently hopes the answer is no. But as his year-long race with Gov. William F. Weld enters the home stretch, the odds are close to 50-50. Every statewide opinion poll for months has placed Kerry and Weld within single digits of each other, while the percentage of respondents who agree that Kerry "deserves to be re-elected" has dropped from 49 per cent last fall to just 35 per cent earlier this month.

It is clear that Kerry is struggling. It isn't clear why.

This is the state, after all, whose senior senator is Ted Kennedy. It is one of the few states where Bill Clinton's

popularity has never flagged. Registered Republicans account for a scant 14 per cent of the Massachusetts electorate; the 1994 GOP tidal wave didn't even splash the Bay State's shores. Kerry has run statewide three times before (for lieutenant governor in 1982 and for the Senate in 1984 and 1990), and has always won decisively. Money isn't a problem: his 1995 marriage to Teresa Heinz (widow of the late Sen. John Heinz, a Pennsylvania Republican) made him America's richest senator. He was decorated for valor in Vietnam, is a poised and polished speaker, and has not been bruised by scandal.

So what is John Kerry's problem? Why isn't his re-election a sure thing?

One factor is personality: Weld's is better. Loose, impish, self-confident, his disposition is worlds apart from Kerry's unctuous and self-righteous uptightness. Weld keeps a stuffed armadillo on his desk and a portrait of the corrupt and roguish James Michael Curley—former governor, congressman, Boston mayor, and prison inmate—on his wall. He got merrily inebriated at his second inaugural ball in 1995, and he dived—fully clothed—into the Charles River during a news conference in August.

It is impossible to imagine Kerry doing any of those things. "I'm very well aware," he said during a televised debate with Weld last month, "that when God made me, one of the debits he gave was sort of an over-level of intensity, maybe an over-level of earnestness." In the past, facing unknown or inexperienced challengers, it was a debit easily compensated for. Now, in the fight of his life against a well-known, well-liked governor, Kerry's tiresome personality is doing him no good.

Neither is his campaign strategy, which boils down to: Attack Gingrich.

No sooner had Weld announced his candidacy last November than Kerry be-

gan hammering the theme that a vote for Weld would be a vote for the Speaker of the House. "This election will contrast cherished American values with the extreme agenda of someone who calls Newt Gingrich his 'ideological soulmate,'" Kerry intoned. It is an argument he has pressed ever since.

The truth is, Weld *did* call himself Gingrich's "ideological soulmate" in the heady days after the 1994 election—just as he hailed the new speaker as "the Sam Adams of our day" and boasted that he and Gingrich were going to write a book together.

But as Gingrich's popularity waned, so did Weld's enthusiasm. "Hey, there's only two podiums in here," he admonished Kerry during one encounter. "I know you want to run against Newtie, but that's not in the cards this year." In July, asked by a reporter how he would rate Gingrich, Weld refused to answer. When pressed, he allowed as how he admired "his efforts to balance the budget." No, the reporter insisted, how do you rate Gingrich as *Speaker*? "Oh, he's a good public speaker," Weld smirked, ducking back into his office.

Weld's fair-weather friendship, which echoes his very public 1988 departure from the Reagan Justice Department—a "resignation of conscience," he called it—illustrates his ability to prance lightly from conviction to counter-conviction. Once pro-life, he is now pro-choice; once against gay-rights laws, he is now for them; once anti-gun-control, he now embraces it; once in favor of shrinking the state's budget, he is now in favor of increasing it. But it also illustrated that he is no Gingrich "soulmate." Not that voters ever thought he was—a *Boston Herald* poll in April found only 28 per cent of the public agreeing with Kerry's characterization of Weld; 58 per cent disagreed.

KERRY has wrapped his re-election campaign around the proposition that Weld has been a bad governor and that voters shouldn't like him. But in comparison with his predecessor, Weld has been a stellar governor. It has been less than six years since Michael Dukakis retired from office, leaving Massachusetts a fiscal wreck—its bond rating the nation's lowest, its taxes among the nation's highest, its unemployment rate soaring, and its operating budget \$800 million in the red. Weld, whatever his faults, is the governor who stanching the bleeding, bal-

Mr. Jacoby is a columnist for the Boston Globe.

anced the budget, and resisted every call to raise taxes.

So, not surprisingly, most voters *do* like him. Weld was re-elected 22 months ago with a staggering 71 per cent of the vote, the highest for any Massachusetts gubernatorial candidate in 128 years. Public affection for the

The Massachusetts Senate race may finally be decided by Susan Gallagher, a political novice running for the Conservative Party

governor runs deep, and it was folly for Kerry to imagine he could turn it to distaste. As one of Weld's advisors, Ray Howell, notes, "He's on the evening news every night. He's in the newspapers every morning. People know him. . . . It's going to be difficult for John Kerry to demonize him."

By contrast, people don't really know Kerry, his 12 years in the Senate notwithstanding. His public image is vague, even among Democrats. "His constituents have no idea where he stands," political analyst John Ellis wrote in the *Boston Globe* last year, "in large measure because Kerry believes it disadvantageous to be firmly fixed on any given point." He has yet to make a compelling case for himself or for his re-election, leaving Weld a free hand to make the case against it.

At the start of a June debate, Kerry was asked to name three pieces of legislation he sponsored that "have affected the lives of Massachusetts citizens." His answers were eye-glazers: a "targeted capital-gains tax cut," "the re-authorization of the Magnuson Act," and "the floor insurance law." In his rebuttal 30 seconds later, Weld sharply identified Kerry as the senator who voted "to kill the Balanced Budget Amendment," "to increase the income tax on senior citizens," and "against the landmark welfare-reform bill."

Six weeks out, Weld and Kerry were in a statistical dead heat, with several debates still to be held and several million dollars still to be poured into ads. But the Massachusetts Senate race may finally be decided by Susan Gallagher, a

political novice running on the Conservative Party ticket.

"I left the Republican Party because of people like Weld," Mrs. Gallagher says. "People say Weld is good on fiscal issues, but his budget is a lot bigger than Michael Dukakis's." That's no exaggeration. Final spending by the state for fiscal year 1992 was \$13.4 billion; the appropriation for the current fiscal year is \$17.4 billion—a 30 per cent increase in just five years.

Susan Gallagher's candidacy poses an excruciating dilemma for Massachusetts conservatives, who find little to cheer in Weld or Kerry. Do they hold their noses and support the only candidate with a shot at defeating Kerry? Or do they vote on principle for the one real conservative on the ballot?

Unlike the major-party candidates, Mrs. Gallagher is passionately pro-life and anti-affirmative-action. A product of South Boston's housing projects who waited on tables to put herself through college, she is a Buchanan-style conservative who resents Weld's disdain for voters on the cultural and religious

Right. She is differentiated from the two men as much by her stands as by her working-stiff credentials. ("In this corner," wrote *Boston Herald* columnist Don Feder, describing the Weld-Kerry lineup, "we have a multi-millionaire preppe Ivy Leaguer who supports abortion on demand, gay rights, open borders, quotas, NAFTA, GATT, and our mindless intervention in Bosnia. In the other corner—the same.")

Susan Gallagher has exactly no chance of winning. But she has an excellent chance of drawing votes that would otherwise go to Weld. The latest *Boston Globe*/WBZ-TV poll shows 5 per cent of likely voters choosing Mrs. Gallagher. On Election Day four years ago, 2.8 million votes were cast in Massachusetts. Five per cent of that total is 140,000—nearly double the margin by which Weld first won office in 1990.

So the ultimate irony of the Weld-Kerry fight, a race in which conservatives have no champion, is this: If the battle goes down to the wire, it is the Conservative Party's voters who may well decide the outcome. □

Ideological Showdown

RAMESH PONNURU

CHAMPAIGN/MONTICELLO, ILLINOIS
WE'RE cruising through downstate Illinois in Al Salvi's RV—he calls it a "Winnebago"—peppering the Republican Senate candidate with questions about his stands on campaign-finance reform, student loans, welfare. But Nick Salvi, an elfin redhead with what his father describes as "a nonserious neurological disorder," has another agenda: he keeps interrupting the interview to demonstrate his age by giving me a "high five," or to show off a crayon drawing of a dinosaur. (It's rather abstract, to put it charitably, but Mr. Salvi beams proudly nonetheless). Up front, a reporter is trying to interview Kathy Salvi while she breast-feeds her baby.

Salvi says he's bringing his family on the campaign trail to keep it together; cynics say he's using the kids to project his "family values." I suspect he's doing both. When he misidentifies a son at a campaign stop in Farmer City, it's a reflection of his zest for politics but also

the understandable confusion of a father of five. (The kids range from three months to seven years old.) But for the kids, Salvi might be mistaken for one himself. With his boyish, slightly nerdy good looks, he's 36 going on 15.

One might not guess from his easy-going manner that he's in *the* ideological showdown of the year. "I think it's the top race in the country," says Phyllis Schlafly. "I'm putting more effort into it than the Presidency." Sen. Rick Santorum (R., Pa.), who went to the same Catholic high school as Salvi, agrees with Mrs. Schlafly: "It's my number one priority too."

Salvi has already pulled off the year's biggest primary upset, defeating the party establishment's anointed candidate. The transition from primary to general-election campaign was a little rocky. It took time for the party to unify—but eventually it did, thanks in no small part to the leadership of moderate Republican Gov. Jim Edgar. Early fund-raising and staffing problems have been resolved, and the national party has been fairly supportive.

Mr. Ponnuru is NR's national reporter.

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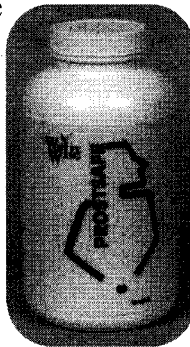
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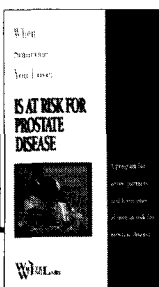
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The price of establishment support has been a certain blunting of the campaign's cutting edge. Salvi visibly chafes at some of the advice he gets from Washington. He answers questions, instead of sticking to his script by evading them. He cracks impolitic jokes: he tells a Republican rally in Bloomington that he hopes Ted Kennedy isn't driving us across that "bridge to the future." He's irreverent, sometimes a bit too much so. He can be a handler's nightmare: a son in his right arm, he reaches out with his left to a supporter and says, good-naturedly, "You mind if I give you that Bob Dole handshake?" An astounded reporter asks, "Doesn't he realize how that'll play?" His press secretary just rolls his eyes.

Since joining the state legislature in 1992, Salvi has compiled a solid conservative record. "He picked up a lot of hot pokers and was fearless," says conservative *Chicago Tribune* columnist Thomas Roeser. The Heartland Institute, a free-market think tank not known for squishiness, is giving Salvi its Liberty Prize this year. He led a successful fight to knock down barriers to transracial adoption. His stump speech is a supply-side paean to the tax cuts of JFK and Reagan; he's for the flat tax and against estate and inheritance taxes (a popular stand among farmers). His rhetoric sometimes gets a bit overheated on these points: "Will there be a free market for you?" he asks the high-school students assembled at the Mt. Pulaski courthouse.

He's for school choice. And against race and gender preferences: "If you brought the fence in ten feet every time Hank Aaron came to bat, he wouldn't be the home-run king." Gun control? "I've never understood how liberals think the way to deal with crime is to disarm citizens." He'd prefer to stiffen sentences for the use of firearms to commit crimes. There are inevitably nits to pick. Salvi endorsed the minimum-wage hike in what one hopes was an act of political expedience. Only a die-hard free-trade purist (like myself) would find Salvi's position on trade—against restrictions, but in favor of driving a harder bargain with other nations—at all objectionable. On Medicare, Salvi takes Steve Forbes's tack: instead of directly controlling spending levels, he would introduce medical savings accounts in the hope that market forces would cut costs.

The Democratic nominee for senator,

Rep. Richard Durbin, is, like Salvi, a trial lawyer ("So either way, you lose!" cracks Salvi) and a Catholic. Durbin doesn't have the well-defined ideological profile Salvi does. "It's like you take a picture of him and it doesn't come out," says Roeser. Salvi is trying to fill in the blanks with the words, "Big-spendin', big-taxin', pay-grabbin' liberal congressman." And in truth, Durbin is fully as liberal as Salvi is conservative. He supported the Human Life Amendment when he entered Congress, but now votes to keep even partial-birth abortions legal. He unexpectedly flew back to D.C. just to vote to uphold President Clinton's veto of the ban—a slap in the face of Chicago's Cardinal Bernadin, who has led the fight against this brutal practice.

Salvi makes much of Durbin's opposition to the Balanced Budget Amend-



Bonnie T. Gardner

ment, which both of Illinois's Democratic senators supported. If Durbin is elected, he warns, "Carol Moseley-Braun will become the conservative senator from the State of Illinois." Republican Rep. Phil Crane, who has served in the House with Durbin for 14 years, says that's right.

Durbin's line on Salvi, dutifully echoed by most Democrats in the state, is that he's an extremist, a tool of the NRA and tobacco companies, a Gingrich clone. Salvi responds, "I'm a mainstream conservative." Challenged on abortion, he says: "I'm pro-life. Forty-five per cent of Illinois is pro-life. I take the same position Durbin used to take. What's extreme about that?" The Gingrich-bashing strategy, meanwhile, failed electorally even at its peak effectiveness, which was almost a year ago.

Attempts by Durbin to exploit a Salvi remark about reforming Social Security with private investment options have largely fallen flat.

A Democratic congressman who privately favors Salvi over Durbin explains best why voters won't be convinced that they should fear Salvi: "[T]he way he looks physically, the way he talks, it's impossible to view him as an extremist. . . . Salvi comes across as your friendly next-door neighbor who would lend you a garden hose, a ladder, would come over and help you out." Despite his regular-guy demeanor, he's happy to declare his love of politics. "While everyone else was watching *Hogan's Heroes* and *Gilligan's Island*, I was watching the Watergate hearings," he says of his high-school days. But unlike some conservatives, he seems to enjoy victory more than he relishes the defeat of his opponents. He comes across as exuberant about his ideas, not combative for its own sake.

Political geography is working in Salvi's favor. Durbin is from a moderately conservative downstate district which gave him only 55 per cent of its vote in 1994 when he was running against a John Bircher whom he outspent by a factor of 12. Southern Illinois is closer to Mississippi than to Chicago, and Salvi thinks he can appeal there to the "cultural Democrats" who are conservatives on issues like guns and abortion. Durbin isn't well known upstate, nor is the party machine emotionally committed to him. As a Reagan Democrat turned Reagan Republican, Salvi thinks he can win some votes from white ethnics in Chicago.

In addition, Illinois Democrats will be pouring more resources into retaking control of the state House, which they lost in 1994, than into electing Durbin. Joseph Morris, a Chicago lawyer and Reagan Administration official who is helping Salvi prepare for the debates, says, "The hot races are in swing Reagan Democratic districts where Durbin has a problem." Durbin's campaign is pretty thin: he's running on Salvi's alleged extremism and Democratic Sen. Paul Simon's popularity; he's counting on other people—President Clinton, Simon, Gingrich—to win the race for him. Salvi, on the other hand, has given each part of the Reagan coalition a reason to get excited about voting for him. His pollster, John McLaughlin, takes comfort from his finding that

(Continues on page 92)

ON THE SCENE

Growing Kiwis

ROBERT P. O'QUINN & NIGEL ASHFORD



Bonnie T. Gardner

WELLINGTON

IN ONE decade, New Zealand's economy was transformed from one of the most controlled outside of the Communist bloc to the freest, with high growth, price stability, and a budget surplus. Policies, politics, and personalities combined to produce this economic transformation; the question at the moment is whether Kiwi voters will sustain it in the general election October 12.

New Zealand's problems stemmed from the Great Depression, when the country sought to insulate itself from the vicissitudes of the world economy through steep trade barriers, a panoply of regulations, heavy subsidies to agriculture and industry, state ownership of commercial enterprise, and universal social-welfare programs.

Mr. O'Quinn is a Policy Analyst for Economics and Trade at the Asian Studies Center of The Heritage Foundation. Mr. Ashford is the Principal Lecturer in Politics at Staffordshire University, England. They are co-authors of The Kiwi Effect: What Britain Can Learn from New Zealand (Adam Smith Institute).

The results were predictable. Sheltered from competition, manufacturers had little incentive to innovate. Instead of specializing, they made a little of everything for the domestic market at a very high cost.

As a result, from 1960 to 1984 New Zealand had the lowest rates of growth of productivity and income of any developed country. She fell from 7th place in per-capita gross domestic product (GDP) in 1960 to 18th place in 1984.

Economic deterioration accelerated after the 1973 and 1979 oil-price shocks. National Party Prime Minister Robert Muldoon responded with a massive taxpayer-financed industrial-development scheme known as "Think Big." By the early 1980s, state-owned firms accounted for about 12 per cent of GDP and 20 per cent of gross domestic investment. And, these firms were all money losers.

Nevertheless, while the private sector sputtered, the state sector swelled. Government expenditures ballooned from 27.5 per cent of GDP in 1971-72 to 40.7 per cent of GDP in 1983-84, while a small fiscal surplus deteriorated into a deficit of 6.5 per cent of GDP. Inflation and unemployment soared. The consumer price index (CPI) rose from the 4.1 per cent average of the 1960s to 17 per cent in June 1982. Unemployment skyrocketed from less than 1,000 in the 1960s to 131,700 in 1984.

New Zealand's Labour Party had traditionally been dominated by blue-collar trade-unionists. But during the 1970s and early 1980s, many young, educated, upwardly mobile voters, who would normally have looked to the National Party, grew disgusted with Muldoon's disastrous interventionism and joined the Labour Party. This inflow of yuppies swung the balance of power within the Labour Party away from trade-unionists.

Consequently, David Lange, an advocate of economic deregulation, was elected Labour Party leader in December 1982.

In the election on July 14, 1984, Labour won 56 seats with 43.0 per cent of the popular vote, as against 37 seats and 35.9 per cent for an intellectually bankrupt National Party. Lange became Prime Minister on July 26.

The new Labour Government had its leftist side—especially on nuclear and environmental issues—but on economic matters it was downright conservative. It focused upon deregulating the private sector and fully exposing the domestic economy to market forces. Minister of Finance Roger Douglas immediately devalued the New Zealand dollar by 20 per cent and then let it float freely after March 1985. All controls on wages, prices, interest rates, and dividends were abolished during 1984. All controls on foreign-exchange transactions and overseas investment were lifted in December 1985. Douglas also dismantled a web of subsidies, tariffs, and import quotas. Today, New Zealand's weighted average tariff is 3.4 per cent; 93 per cent of imports are duty free.

While Labour's *laissez-faire* policy was popular with business leaders, the Party's traditional supporters were less enthusiastic. However, Lange skillfully employed Labour's anti-nuclear policy to retain the support of blue-collar trade-unionists and university intellectuals.

Soon after taking office, he forbade nuclear-powered or nuclear-weapons-capable U.S. ships, submarines, or planes to enter New Zealand. The Reagan Administration promptly suspended military cooperation and intelligence sharing. Nevertheless, Labour's anti-nuclear policy was extremely popular at home, winning 73 per cent approval in a 1986 opinion survey. Indeed, the anti-nuclear policy neutralized left-wing opposition to Labour's free-market reforms. Defying Reagan on the nuclear issue helped Lange implement Reaganesque economic liberalization.

THE first real roadblock came with the October 1987 stock-market crash. Two months after the crash, the Cabinet announced a new integrated economic and social package, which included extensive tariff cuts, a flat-rate income tax, a guaranteed minimum family income, and privatization of state-owned enterprises. Six weeks later, Lange nixed the flat-rate income tax and

guaranteed minimum family income. A bloody Cabinet fight ensued, in which Douglas salvaged a compromise two-rate income tax structure. But Labour's day in the sun was drawing to a close. After arguing with Lange over a proposed hike in the value-added tax, Douglas resigned his post in December 1988 and led a public campaign to undermine Lange, which ended with Lange's resignation as prime minister.

In the election of October 27, 1990, Labour's disarray produced a stunning

*If New Zealand still
had a first-past-the-
post electoral system,
the National Party
would be heading
toward a huge
majority*

victory for the National Party, which won 67 seats, as against Labour's 29 seats. The new National Party prime minister, Jim Bolger, and minister of finance, Ruth Richardson, turned their backs on Robert Muldoon's dirigisme and expanded upon Labour's economic-liberalization program.

Among all the Bolger Government's economic reforms, the move from universal to targeted social-welfare benefits has proved the most unpopular. In December 1990, Mrs. Richardson cut cash benefits in social-welfare programs by tightening eligibility rules and slashing weekly payments. In 1991, she cut grants to college students and instituted partial charges for medical services and prescription drugs for all but the very poor and chronically ill. While unpopular, these changes were grudgingly accepted. However, Mrs. Richardson's 1991 proposal to replace Labour's surcharge on old-age pensions with a much harsher income test, outraged middle-class Kiwis. A firestorm forced her to retreat.

The political cauldron was now boiling. By August 1991, National's support had dropped to an all-time low of 20 per cent. Jim Anderton, who the year before had led fellow leftists out of the Labour Party and into the New Labour Party, now

formed a coalition known as the Alliance with the Greens. Winston Peters, meanwhile, left the National Party to form the New Zealand First Party. Peters, who has been characterized as a Kiwi Pat Buchanan, opposes immigration and foreign investment and supports more benefits for the elderly.

As recession gave way to recovery National's polling improved, and the party squeaked back into power with a one-seat majority in 1993. However, in a referendum that same day, New Zealand voted to replace the First Past the Post (FPP) system (as used, for example, in Great Britain) with a Mixed Membership Proportional (MMP) system (as used in Germany). Under FPP, New Zealand was divided into separate constituencies, each electing one member. Under MMP, each voter casts two votes. The first is for one of the 65 constituency members; the other is a preferred-party vote for 55 members drawn from party lists. The total number of seats awarded to each qualifying party are proportional to the preference vote.

Because MMP benefits small parties, three new additional parties have been formed. Roger Douglas founded a libertarian party, known as the Association of Consumers and Taxpayers (ACT), that is now led by Richard Prebble. Several National and Labour MPs, led by Peter Dunne, formed the centrist United New Zealand Party, which stresses its vague commitment to "innovative social policies." MP Graham Lee left the National Party to form the Christian Coalition. Although New Zealand's Christian Coalition is not affiliated with the U.S. organization of the same name, it shares many of the latter's concerns about moral and social issues.

It is a prosperous New Zealand that heads into the October 12 elections. In

1995-96, New Zealand's economy expanded by 2.8 per cent, while underlying inflation remained tame at 2.1 per cent. New Zealand has reduced government expenditures from 41.2 per cent of GDP in 1990 to 36 per cent in 1995, producing an operating surplus of 3.3 per cent. In July, the basic personal income-tax rate was cut from 24 per cent to 21.5 per cent, with a second rate reduction to 19.5 per cent scheduled for July 1997. A March 1996 *National Business Review* poll found that 55 per cent of Kiwis believe New Zealand is on the "right track," compared to 33 per cent who believe it is on the "wrong track."

If New Zealand still had a first-past-the-post electoral system, the National Party would be heading toward a huge majority. However, MMP makes the outcome less clear.

A poll released on September 16 showed the National Party leading with 38 per cent but falling far short of forming a majority government on its own. Labour finished a distant second with 19 per cent. The two anti-economic-reform parties, New Zealand First and Alliance, polled 15 and 13 per cent, respectively.

However, the strength of the three new pro-economic-reform parties may save the day. The same poll indicated that support for the Christian Coalition had risen to 5.8 per cent, crossing the 5 per cent threshold needed to enter Parliament. Support for the Association of Consumers and Taxpayers rose to 4.6 per cent. If ACT's support clears the 5 per cent hurdle, or if its leader, Richard Prebble, wins the Wellington Central seat outright (as appears likely), and if United New Zealand's Peter Dunne wins the Ohariu-Belmont seat (as is also widely expected), then a National-led Center-Right coalition would form a majority government.

Even if ACT fails to enter Parliament, Labour leader Helen Clark would have difficulty forming a Center-Left coalition government. While most Labour MPs remain committed to economic reform, Labour's potential coalition partners represent the third of Kiwis opposed to reform. If Mrs. Clark tries to appease Anderton or Peters on economic issues, a number of moderate Labour MPs could bolt to a coalition led by the National Party.

MMP is changing New Zealand's political culture—but not necessarily for the worse. The National-Labour duopoly is over. Future majority gov-



ernments will garner support from a coalition of parties rather than a single party, producing less speed and more openness in decision-making. MMP will

make future sweeping change far more difficult. Given that New Zealand now has the freest economy in the world, that is not a bad outcome. □

A Tale of Two Bishops

ANTHONY LEJEUNE

THE first bishop, Roderick Wright, Roman Catholic Bishop of Argyll and the Isles, disappeared, leaving his shepherdless flock perplexed. They prayed for him: but were not perplexed for long. It soon emerged that he had run off with a divorced woman whom he had counseled eight years earlier. She left a message for her two teenage children, telling them, when they came home from school, to seek help from nearby relatives. (DEAR KIDS, I'VE LEFT YOU FOR A BISHOP—

Mr. Lejeune is NR's longtime London correspondent.

Daily Mirror.) He has since submitted his resignation, and it has been revealed that he is the father of a 15-year-old boy by another, and now very indignant, woman. (HE LIVED A LIE, SAYS MOTHER. CHURCH LEADERS SHOCKED—*Daily Telegraph*.) Worst of all, church spokesmen seemed to feel, he sold his story to a tabloid newspaper for an alleged £300,000. ("I SINNED . . ."—*News of the World*.)

The whole incident has provoked a fresh debate on whether the requirement of celibacy for Roman Catholic priests should be abandoned. The argument has acquired new impetus, in Britain as in America, both from a shortage of priests

in some areas and because some Protestant clergy, seeking refuge in the Catholic Church from the ordination of women, are being ordained as priests although they are married. Celibacy for Church of England clergy was abandoned in the sixteenth century so that the marriage of Archbishop Thomas Cranmer could be recognized.

Some two thousand Roman Catholic priests in Britain are thought to have left the Church during the past twenty years in order to "pursue a relationship." The responses of Cardinal Hume, head of the Roman Catholic Church in England and Wales, to the Argyll affair was that the rule might have to be relaxed. Modern society's "obsession with sex" made the ideal of celibacy harder to sustain: too many excellent men were being lost to the priesthood. Cardinal Winning, however, the leader of Scotland's Roman Catholics, disagreed; sympathetic though he might be with "Brother Roddy," the principle could not be compromised. (BISHOP MUST DUMP LOVE TO STAY PRIEST—*The Sun*.)

The problem is, of course as old as—indeed much older than—Héloïse and

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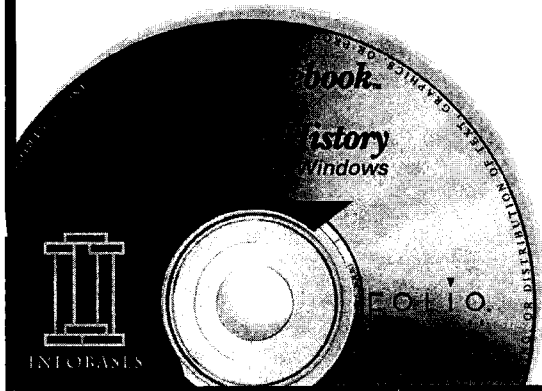
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Abélard. Transgressions have never been uncommon. The bishop of Galway had to resign four years ago, when it was revealed that he had fathered a son. As Cardinal Hume pointed out, the celibacy of the priesthood is a law of the Church, not of God, and is therefore alterable. It remains, nevertheless, intimately bound up with most Catholics' idea of priesthood as a special and sacrificial calling. Nor is the argument unconnected with modern attitudes to marriage. Willingness to take a vow of lifelong celibacy and willingness to take a vow of lifelong matrimonial fidelity are two sides of the same coin. If one is considered too hard, the other may seem so too.

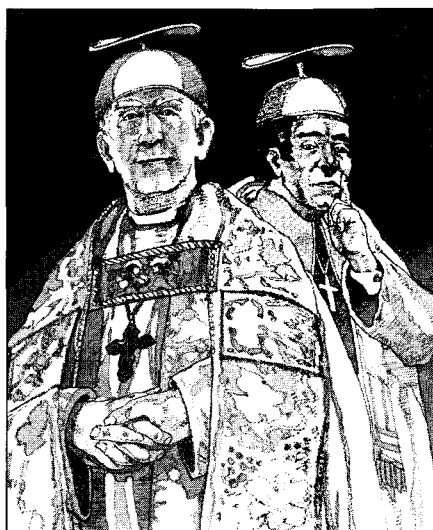
The second Bishop's Tale inclines more to comedy than personal tragedy, but it made equally big headlines. Robert Runcie, the former Archbishop of Canterbury, wanted his biography written by some safe hand. So he approached Humphrey Carpenter, the agnostic son of an Anglican bishop and a well-regarded biographer, notably of J. R. R. Tolkien. Carpenter agreed but found himself unable, or unwilling, to construct an orthodox biography, probably because it would have been too dull. Instead, from a series of wide-ranging tape-recorded chats with Runcie, Runcie's wife, and various people who knew them, he compiled a mischievous, highly entertaining, gossipy book about the archbishop and his dealings not only with fellow churchmen but with establishment personages from the Queen downward.

Runcie had imposed no restrictions on Carpenter's use of the tapes, for which indeed he received a modest sum of money: but, when he read the manuscript, he was appalled and tried vainly to have it withdrawn. "I have done my best," he said in a letter included as a postscript, "to die before this book is published. It now seems possible that I shall not succeed . . . I shall try to keep my sense of humor and the perspective of eternity." What he had wanted was more serious consideration of a twentieth-century archbishop's role. Carpenter, being a writer who likes to be read, concentrated on lively anecdotes and unguarded comments. Newspaper serialization and summaries have highlighted these even more.

Runcie, for example, admitted that he had long known about the Prince of Wales's adulterous affair with Camilla Parker Bowles, and had considered the marriage to Diana (which he described

publicly as "the stuff of fairy tales") to be an arranged affair. He had found the Prince, the future Supreme Governor of the Church of England, to be more interested in a vague spirituality: "I think he had given up on the Church of England before I arrived." Runcie had counseled Diana as if in a confirmation class, but this was not a big success. "When you began on abstract ideas you could see her eyes clouding over. Her eyelids became heavy." He had been a friend of Lady Fermoy, her grandmother, who "was totally a Charles person and regarded Diana as an actress, a schemer—all of which is true, of course."

A large percentage of the clergy were homosexual, Runcie told Carpenter. Some were quite outstanding priests and "with treatment" could even marry and



have children. He had enjoyed their friendship, but "I've always been uneasy that they might stab me in the back because I wasn't one of them." He himself had discovered as a young man the joys of female company (but had never, as it were, inhaled).

And so on. Public, or at least press, reaction weighed complex layers of responsibility. Had Carpenter betrayed a naïve Runcie by publishing what were meant to be confidences? Was Runcie a congenital blabbermouth, betraying those toward whom he had not only an official, but a pastoral, duty of discretion? Had there been a genuine misunderstanding? Had Carpenter made sly insinuations (when he said, for instance, that Runcie was "flirtatious with both sexes") or simply revealed Runcie for what he was, a man "usually to be found nailing his colors to the fence"?

Clifford Longley, a leading Roman Catholic commentator, said that Runcie

took it for granted that anyone with whom he had dealings would behave like an English gentleman and an Anglican, two concepts which merged in his mind. He had a certain idea of Christian England, an England of good manners, green grass, and mild religion. "For such people religion is much more about being polite to God than about scaling the heights of mysticism."

More typically, John Junor, the veteran ex-editor of the *Sunday Express*, called Runcie vain, arrogant, indecisive, a man with no fixed principles of any kind, indiscreet and two-faced, a sanctimonious creep, about whom the only good thing to be said was that he had at least been better than the present Archbishop of Canterbury, George Carey.

How much do these episcopal squalls matter? From one point of view, not a great deal. Just as the Pope may be infallible but not impeccable, so episcopal indiscretions have no bearing on the truth or otherwise of religion. On the other hand, they and the responses they brought do contribute to a general feeling that the Christian churches now are built not on rock but on sand, shifting beneath the feet of the faithful. As another commentator, an Anglican clergyman who moved to Rome, observed, "Whether Runcie made the Church of England what it is today, or simply reflected what it had long since become, hardly matters. He reflected a malaise that afflicts not only the Church but the age in which we live."

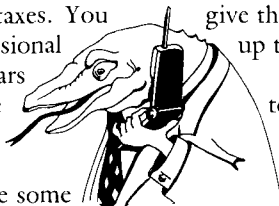
Both episodes show a Church not standing against the world but pathetically anxious to accommodate the world: a Church talking about the wrong things. If confirmation were needed, it has just been supplied by the unveiling of a Christmas advertising campaign, designed to attract young people. (SEASONS'S BLEATINGS—*Daily Mail*.) Its keynote poster consists of a kindergarten scrawl depicting three crowned figures above the words "BAD HAIR DAY?! You're a virgin, you've just given birth, and now three kings have shown up." Then in very small letters: "Find out the happy ending at a church near you." The pious publications are very proud of what they believe to be the up-to-date-ness of their wording. ("Bad hair day" is, in fact, California teenspeak, circa 1990.) One said: "Peace and goodwill to all men has had a good run. It's time for something else." Archbishop Carey has approved the campaign. Make that a Tale of Three Bishops. □

GEKKO

ANOTHER shot has been fired in the eternal war between taxpayer and tax collector. When the new immigration law goes into effect, among the "excludable" categories will be former U.S. citizens who renounced their citizenship to avoid taxes. You may recall the congressional speechifying a couple of years ago about Ken Dart, the plastic-cup tycoon, who turned himself into a Belizean citizen. There were some who believed he took on this honor to reduce his tax burden.

Others have chosen more prosaic countries. One of the Campbell's Soup heirs has become Irish, and other acquaintances of mine have evinced interest in this solution to the problem of U.S. estate taxes. Becoming Irish, after all, sounds as if it could be a harmless eccentricity. It's definitely the high end of expatriation, with a reported price tag, in the form of required local investments, of over a million dollars. But then you're a resident of the European Community, which is generally considered a more stable part of the world than the Caribbean. The low end of acquired citizenship may be anchored by the Turks & Caicos, an island nation north of Haiti famous as a punching bag for hurricanes. Turks & Caicos citizenship is on offer for something like \$5,000. A bargain, and you don't have to wait around for a cut in estate taxes, since there are none. But if you have the money, you might find the \$995,000 premium for Irish citizenship makes sense in that moment when you face a beady-eyed Customs official.

The U.S. Government is planning to make it harder to get your money out and continue to have free and easy access to the country. Now, if you're a newly minted Belizean, they can throw you on the next plane out without a judicial hearing. But as Rosemary Jenks of the Center for Immigration Studies says, "Until they develop standards of proof for determining your motives, the change is more symbolic than real. For the 'Irish' anyway."



■ Divorcees, children of alcoholics, and unmarried gay couples have support groups, so why not European finance ministers? The difference is that the European taxpaying public pays for the finance ministers' meetings, and they give their last names when they stand up to speak.

The reason the finance ministers need a support group, of course, is the supposed imminence of European Monetary Union and its product, the Euro. The contradictory ideas that they must hold would be enough to drive anyone around the bend. The latest support group/inter-ministerial meeting took place in Dublin in mid September. It produced the customary blather about the inevitability of the EMU process, and the sacred of the bonds among the governments that will adopt the new currency.

There are a few problems, of course. Nobody is sure just which countries will be allowed into the Euro deal. And almost none of the countries that would have to be part of currency unification can abide by the rules for government deficits, debts, and currency stability set down in the Maastricht Treaty.

Bernard Connolly, a former European Community official and a Euro-heretic who now works with AIG Trading Group, points out that "The Dublin



"Today Alan Greenspan was seen withdrawing more money than usual from his bank account. Details at eleven."

meeting [of the finance officials] was not as smooth as it was made out to be. The Germans insisted that countries that fail to abide by the Maastricht guidelines should be subject to automatic fines or penalties. The French refused to accept that. That shows you some of the lines of disagreement."

The cheerleading for European Monetary Union will be continuing all through the autumn, which is the European budget season. We can expect intense Euro-blather at the International Monetary Fund meeting in Washington this month. But inherent problems of the Euro won't go away.

For example, the moment the Euro currency is adopted by the "in" countries, their governments will cease to be sovereign debt issuers. In other words, their central banks will not have the option of printing money to support their paper, and will no longer be easily making a market in the national debt. This will probably create not a few problems for these highly indebted states. The function of debt guarantor will probably have to be assumed by the European Central Bank. It is not now ready to do that. When you ask European bond traders what all that will mean, there are long moments of silence.

Many of us in this country are extremely skeptical about the future of our government's finances and, by extension, the future value of the dollar. But compared to the Euro, it's beginning to look pretty good. Keep that in mind when you think about the long-term value of those European stocks touted in places like *Barron's*.

■ I've been pretty bullish on certain shipping stocks—basically tanker companies. But some others have got industry problems that could take a couple of years at least to work out. There's no doubt the most troubled sector is the container-ship business. While there has been a huge increase in trade across the Pacific, the most dynamic market, there is an even bigger bulge in deliveries of new ships. So in the big end of the industry—that is, ships that carry more than 3,000 containers—there are vessels under construction equal to over 48 per cent of the total already in the water. That means continuing declines in freight rates, which are already down by some 20 per cent for the eastbound trade, and bad news for APL Limited, the old American President Lines.

—JOHN DIZARD



NR GUIDE TO THE 1996 ELECTION

What About Bob?

Rich Lowry

IF NO ONE ELSE DOES, at least Bob Dole knows he's going to beat Bill Clinton, knows it the way he knew after his World War II wounds that he'd walk again—work again, heck, even play basketball again. The analogy between Dole's current political straits and his recovery from his World War II wounds has, by now, become a cliché. But Dole's excruciating way back from paralysis and fever, his obliterated shoulder and twisted right arm resisting him at every step, is indeed the central drama of his life. It was a triumph of will. And Dole has brought the same determination, driven in large part by a deep, ever-present fear of failure, to his politics.

In Dole's first race, for the job of county attorney, the other candidate at some point realized he would inevitably lose, because Dole would go to any lengths to win. He won his primary races for the House and Senate and his re-election in the Senate in 1974 largely on his desire, just wanting it more than the other guy. Charged by the Ford White House with hitting the campaign trail alone to reverse Carter's 30-point lead in 1976, Dole almost killed himself trying. So trailing President Clinton by 15 points can't be cause for despair; it just means another campaign stop, another speech, working at it and working at it, until this obstacle too has been ground away by that hardened nugget of desire and will at Bob Dole's core.

But what is at that core, except the drive to keep on run-

ning? It is emblematic of Dole's continuing mystery that his campaign has had to "re-introduce" him to the American public four or five times now. Other re-introductions may yet be necessary. Who is Bob Dole? After his 35 years in public life, four national campaigns, more appearances on Sunday talk shows than any other politician alive, and countless hundreds of speeches, it's still a question that defies ready answer. But any understanding of Dole begins with his terrible wounds; it's a story, even after all the retellings in the press, that is shocking and affecting, and goes to the root of Dole's shame, emotional distance, and perseverance.

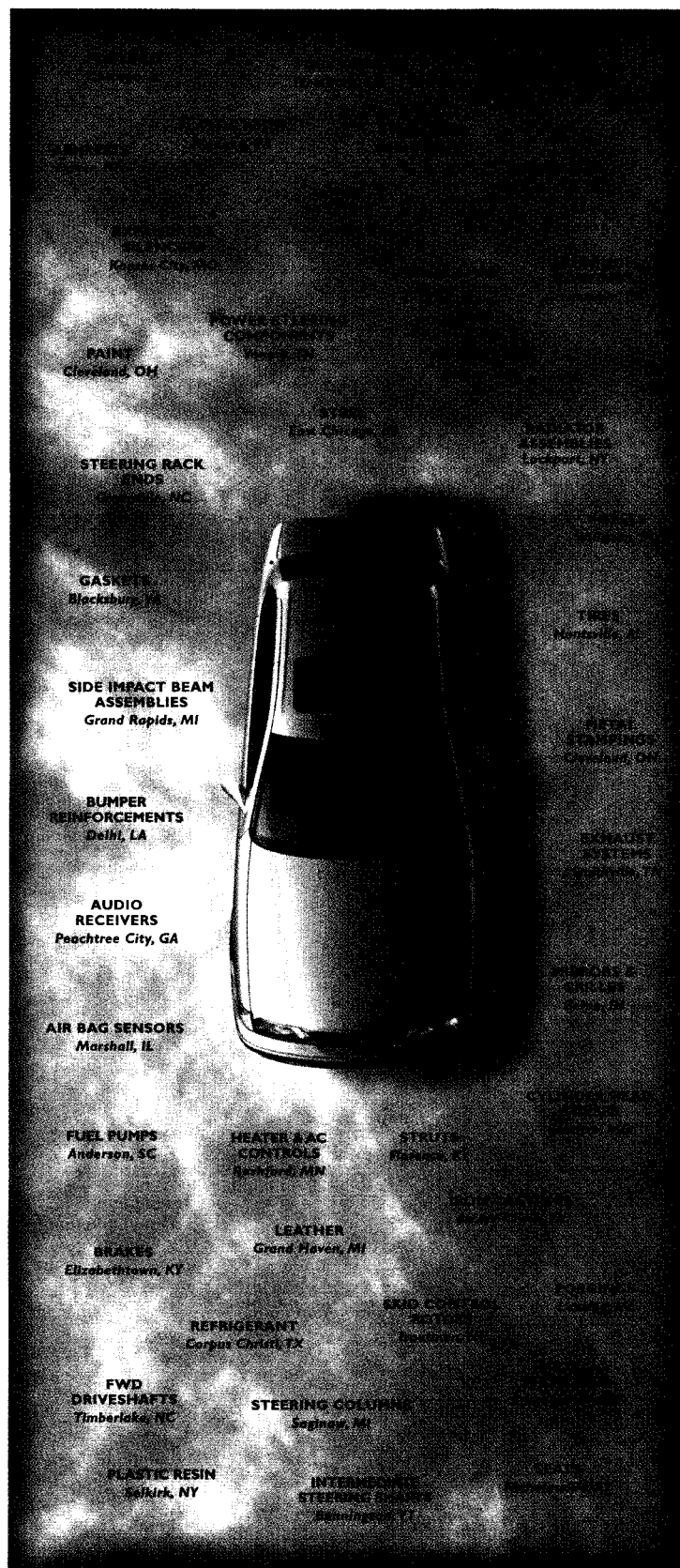
As Richard Ben Cramer recounts in his brilliant sketch of Dole in *What It Takes*, the doctors who first treated him shipped him home in a body cast to die. When his mother, Bina, met him at the hospital she had to pick cigarette butts out of his cast; in transit, he had been used as an ash tray. Bina stayed with him month after month. The doctors chipped away at the stinking cast as feeling slowly returned to Dole's limbs. On good days he dreamed of full recovery, but often, when he talked at all, he would refer to himself as being used up, "a piece of garbage." One of Bina's sisters came to visit once. "She tried to smile [at Bob]," Cramer writes. "Well, you listen to us jabber," she said, and she turned to Bina. Then, she heard his voice: "Don't have anything to say, anyway."

When Dole was well enough to go home, he warded off visitors. He would work alone, always alone, at fixing his "problem," pulling at weights rigged up against the garage wall to regain his strength, trying everything to recover the use of his right arm. One day Bina found him hanging from one of the garage rafters, trembling with pain and exhaustion, trying to straighten the arm out. He managed once to walk all the way downtown to Dawson's drugstore, only to have an old-timer take one look at him and remark, "Gee,

Mr. Lowry is NR's national political reporter.

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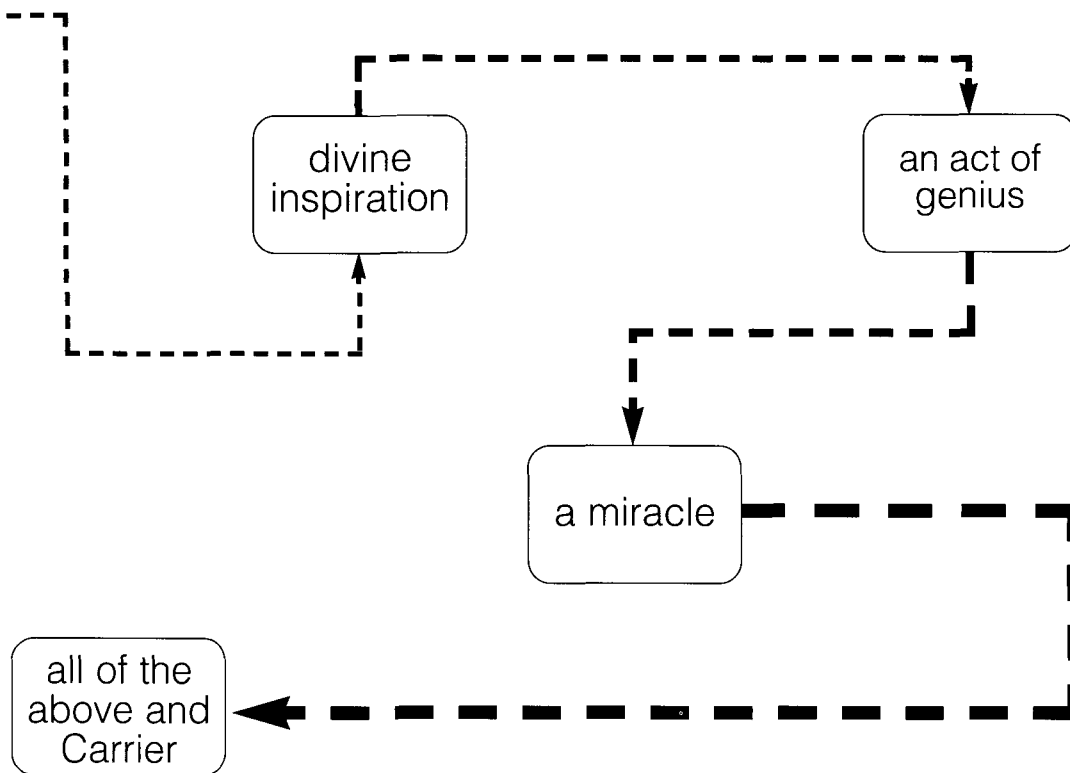
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that's too bad. . . . You prob'ly wish they woulda finished you off." When he was back in the hospital, his wit made him a favorite. Cramer explains that Dole felt he had to keep his dream of recovery hidden away from the dreary hospital reality; whenever someone approached him "there was always a joke to hold them off."

When Dole did fight his way back to health, winning the county-attorney job, and speaking to people in public during the campaign, it was the final step in his recovery. In 1960 he won a seat in Congress. (At a Kennedy White House party for the newly seated freshmen, one congressional wife remarked on how perfect the evening seemed, to which Dole replied: "Live it up while you can, Rose Mary. We're parked in a ten-minute zone.") The early Dole was a fierce partisan. He made a name for himself as a freshman rooting out a Kennedy Administration agricultural scandal. A few years later, in the Senate, he was a pit bull for President Nixon, bashing anti-war Senators for "parroting the propaganda of a Communist enemy." This was Dole the

"hatchetman," for whom the word Democrat was often an adjective and a nasty one (as in "Democrat wars").

Gradually, other parts of Dole's political persona took over. As allegiances in Congress began to be less partisan and more ideological, Dole became a less polarizing figure. He believed in limited government in his way, but believed too that particular programs could help the handicapped or poor, for whom he always felt a kinship. His first speech on the Senate floor was about the need for housing for the handicapped. In the mid 1920s, he collaborated with George McGovern to broaden and liberalize the food-stamp program. At one committee hearing, according to Cramer, he asked of Sen. Jim Buckley, sponsor of a bill to rein in the program: "Agh, d'you put in a burial allowance . . . fthe ones who starve?"

This is compassion with a chilliness at its heart, motivated less by a melioristic vision of the good that government can do than by a knowledge of the deprivation that, perhaps, it can ease. In Dole's other abiding passion, the deficit, there is also the dry taste of prairie dust.

Dole was a loyal soldier for the Reagan tax cuts, but when the deficit began to rise he immediately became a thorn in the side of the White House, agitating for higher taxes (see Stephen Moore, "Dole and Taxes," April 8). This contributed to Dole's reputation for "growth" (not the kind Steve Forbes talks about). "Dole has mellowed and matured," said *Time* magazine. But Dole wasn't just after Beltway credibility, and proved it in 1985, with his crowning legislative jewel, a deficit-reduction package that would have frozen Social Security COLAs. Instead, the House (and Jack Kemp) torpedoed the plan, and Republicans in the Senate, hung out to dry, lost their majority in 1986.

By then Dole had indeed, as they say, "gone Washington." More specifically, he had gone Finance Committee, the clubby Senate panel that values "responsibility" over partisanship. Before he became chairman in 1981, Dole appeared with Sen. Pat Moynihan in a campaign ad for then committee chairman Russell Long, a Democrat. "When I was working for Dole it always occurred to me that he loves to just solve problems," Bob Lighthizer, Dole's Finance Committee staff director, explained to Dole biographer Jake Thompson, in a nice summation of the committee's ethic. "I can remember sitting with him and

Democracy in Action I

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HERE was as usual, a crowd of folk about the door, but none that Rip collected. The very character of the people seemed changed. There was a busy, bustling, disputatious tone about it, instead of the accustomed phlegm and drowsy tranquillity. He looked in vain for the sage Nicholas Vedder, with his broad face, double chin, and fair long pipe, uttering clouds of tobacco-smoke instead of idle speeches; or Van Bummel, the schoolmaster, doling forth the contents of an ancient newspaper. In place of these a lean, bilious-looking fellow, with his pockets full of handbills, was haranguing vehemently about rights of citizens—elections—members of congress—liberty—Bunker's Hill—heroes of '76—and other words, which were a perfect Babylonish jargon to the bewildered Van Winkle.

The appearance of Rip, with his long, grizzled beard, his rusty fowling-piece, his uncouth dress, and an army of women and children at his heels, soon attracted the attention of the tavern-politicians. They crowded round him, eyeing him from head to foot with great curiosity. The orator bustled up to him, and drawing him partly aside, inquired "On which side he voted?" Rip stared in vacant stupidity. Another short but busy little fellow pulled him by the arm, and rising on tiptoe, inquired in his ear, "Whether he was Federal or Democrat?" Rip was equally at a loss to comprehend the question; when a knowing, self-important old gentleman, in a sharp cocked hat, made his way through the crowd, putting them to the right and left with his elbows as he passed, and planting himself before Van Winkle, with one arm akimbo, the other resting on his cane, his keen eyes and sharp hat penetrating, as it were, into his very soul, demanded in an austere tone, "What brought him to the election with a gun on his shoulder, and a mob at his heels; and whether he meant to breed a riot in the village?"—"Alas! gentlemen," cried Rip, somewhat dismayed, "I am a poor quiet man, a native of the place, and a loyal subject of the King, God bless him!"

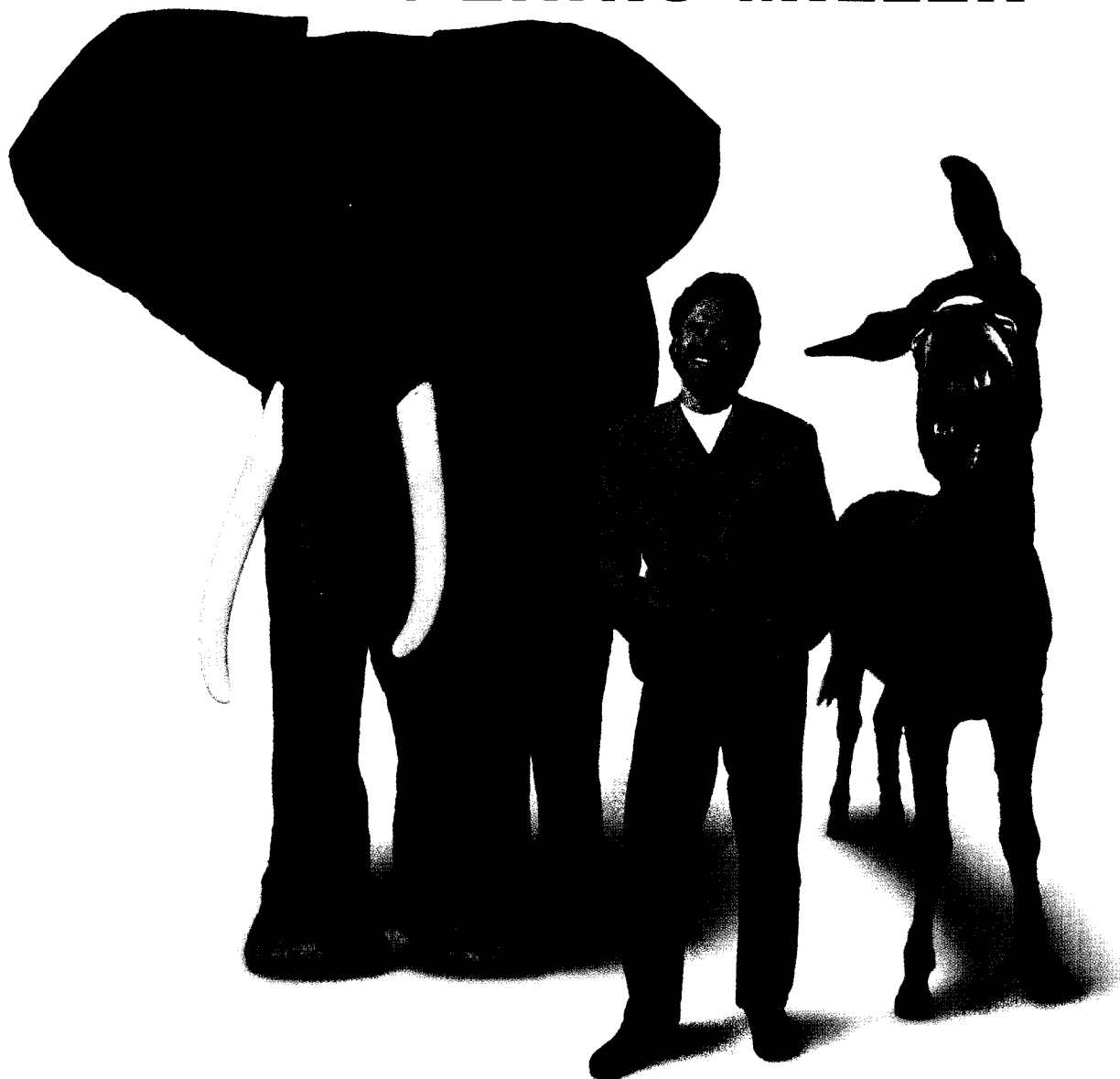
Here a general shout burst from the by-standers—"A tory! a tory! a spy! a refugee! hustle him! away with him!"

—WASHINGTON IRVING

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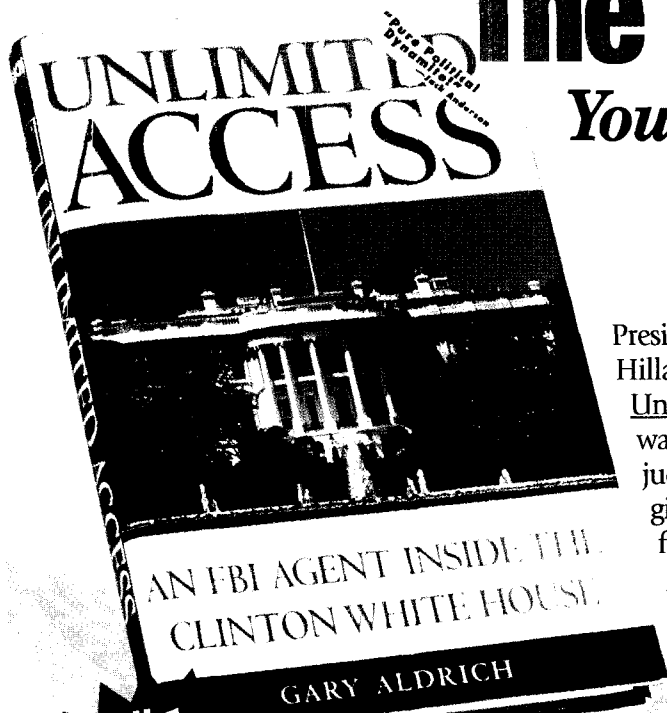
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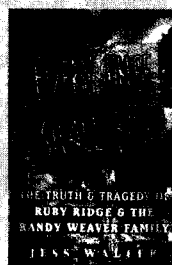
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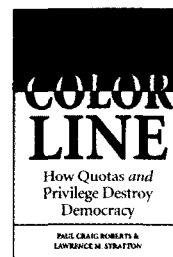
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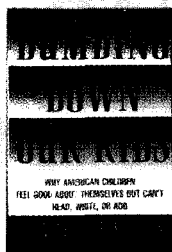
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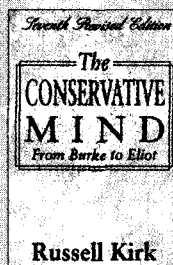


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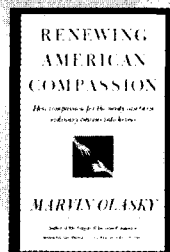
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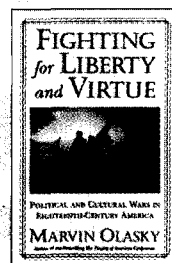
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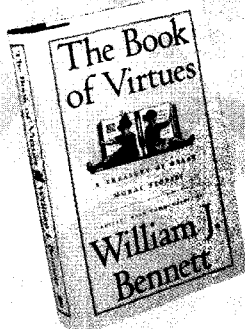
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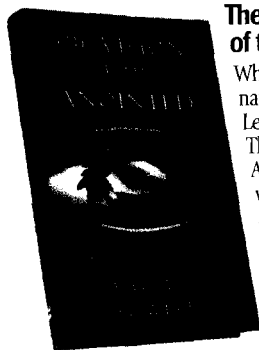
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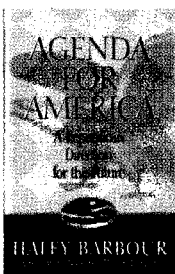
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To Renew America

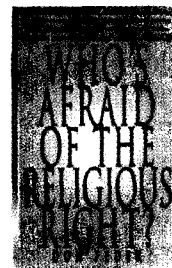
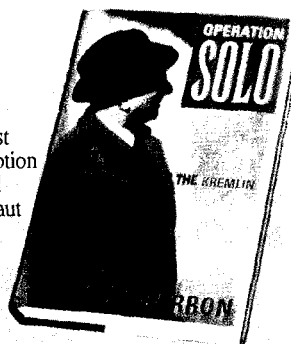
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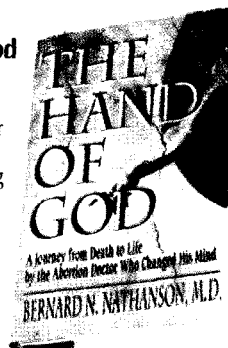
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he'd say, 'Let's deal with this! Let's deal with the amendments!' Deal with them he did. The Senate is a balky body ready to stall at any moment. Dole mastered the light negotiating touch necessary to keep it running.

In fact, Dole's touch was light to the point of being non-existent; his is a strangely non-committal leadership style. His first wife would ask him if he was coming home for dinner. "Depends." Would they be going to a White House party? "Depends." His 11-year-old daughter once left a note for him outlining the case for her getting her ears pierced, with two boxes for him to choose between, "Yes" and "No." (Cramer comments on the droll datum of a kid writing a fast-action memo to her father.) Dole made a third box: "Maybe." In Bob Woodward's *The Choice*, half the action concerning Dole is his staff trying to get him to decide one way or the other whether to run for the Presidency. Dole chief of staff Sheila Burke made the astonishing revelation to Woodward that she never once, in 18 years, had heard Dole say, "Here's what we're doing." Instead, Woodward writes, Dole would signal his intentions with "grunts, half sentences, a growl of displeasure, a thumb-up of approval."

Obviously, this creates some problems in a national campaign; it's impossible to run for President on grunts, although at times this year Dole has tried. But even if Dole were to plant a wet kiss on the Blarney Stone, what would he say afterward? What exactly is it that he believes? Well, Dole believes in what works, as a matter both of policy and of politics. He has cut taxes and raised them, cut spending and fattened Kansas farmers, declared his social moderation and blackjacked a Senate opponent over abortion. In 35 years, Dole has believed many things consecutively, a happy fact for Clinton ad-makers who can hit Dole from any side (as a tax-raiser, as soft on drugs, as . . . whatever). So, Dole may believe in his new tax plan; he has concluded it is both politically saleable and doable. But that doesn't mean two years from now he wouldn't be pushing for a \$100-billion package of "loophole closers."

This flexibility is in accord with Dole's deep, temperamental conservatism. It has nothing to do with the sharp, ideological conservatism of the 1990s and is miles away from the populist passions that fueled the GOP victory in 1994. Dole instinctively distrusts big ideas, ideology, movements, revolutions. They're trouble. They can twist you into positions at odds with gritty Kansas common sense. There is something to be said for this conservatism of reserve and restraint. It certainly looks better in the light of the congressional Republicans' Gingrich-led disaster after 1994. And it definitely has its place. Beneath his Washington impulse to deal, Dole's deeper Kansas instinct is to obstruct, a quality

that came in especially in handy in 1993-94 when Dole was leading the opposition to Clinton.

But Dole's deepest belief is one he tries to get at with his oft-repeated line: "This is America. This is the United States of America." He says it with vehemence, as if someone were contesting the point. *"This is America!"* He says it with such feeling, one can only assume he means something by it. What? Dole may well be groping toward a feeling of the loss of the common American identity, of the notions of right and wrong and civic responsibility that were simply understood fifty years and that now seem to have been lost irrevocably. If so, he's certainly not the only one to feel it. If Dole could again lift this feeling out of himself and give it life with words, as he did in his convention speech, his candidacy would become more powerful—and true to himself.

But as Dole might say, Agh, don't hold your breath. Dole faces formidable obstacles this November, a lot of them external, but certainly not all. When he was chairman of the Republican National Committee back in the early 1970s, Dole would leave every day from Washington for an event somewhere out in the hinterland, then return to sleep for a few hours in the basement of his suburban Virginia home, often without a word to his wife, who slept upstairs. There is good reason for this emotional remoteness, but that doesn't make it any easier to sell. If the American people think Dole doesn't connect, that he can't articulate a philosophy of governance, that he has few fixed, fundamental beliefs, they aren't too far from the mark. The worry for Dole's advisors shouldn't be that people need a re-introduction to their candidate, but that they already know him too well. And how is Bob Dole going to overcome that? □

KATE O'BEIRNE

WITH the political community drafting obituaries for the Dole campaign, attention has shifted to whether the Republicans can repeat the feat of 1928, the last time they retained control of the House. Come January will Speaker Gephardt be hauling that famous dinosaur skull out of Newt's office, or will a triumphant Speaker Gingrich be building a beach volleyball court on the Capitol's south lawn? The media stand ready to drape crepe on the Republican Revolution, but retirements, the issues, and the political climate provide life-support for the GOP in its struggle to hold the House.

Mrs. O'Beirne is NR's Washington Editor.

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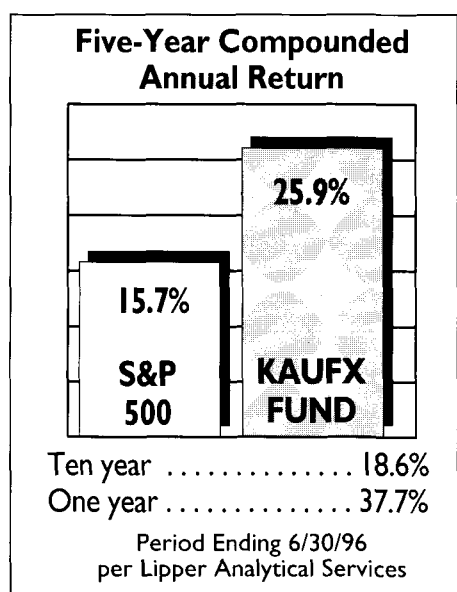
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In early September Bob Dole and Jack Kemp met with congressional Republicans on Capitol Hill to calm their nerves. The troops were reportedly in wholesale panic over what November might hold for them should Dole be

defeated. In fact, Republican members are no more nervous than incumbents typically are in an election year. They increasingly believe they'll be back in charge even if Bob Dole is back in Russell. And it appears that House Republi-

Fight for the Senate

THIS year, thanks to a wave of retirements, a post-World War II record of 14 Senate seats are open (8 held by retiring Democrats and 6 by Republicans), and 26 of the 34 total races are viewed as competitive. Democrats need a net gain of 3 seats to take control—assuming they keep the Vice Presidency. If Jack Kemp is President of the Senate, 4 seats will have to go Democratic for Tom Daschle to be sunning himself on “Dole Beach” outside the Leader’s office. It might seem unlikely that both Bob Dole and the Senate Democrats would win in November, but Senate races often depend on factors independent of presidential prospects.

Political analyst Charles Cook sees little evidence of presidential candidates’ coattails in congressional races. Cook says, “What seats are up, what the political climate is like, and what issues and special circumstances may exist are far more important.” In 1964, the Goldwater defeat led to big GOP losses in the House, but only 2 seats fell in the Senate. When Richard Nixon beat George McGovern by 23 points, Democrats picked up 2 Senate seats, as they did again in 1984 despite Reagan’s 49-state sweep.

The large number of races this year, each with its individual characteristics (for example, which way the Arkansas Senate race would go was thought to depend heavily on whether conservative GOP Congressman Tim Hutchinson would agree to run) is giving prognosticators a hard time. Stuart Rothenberg notes the volatility caused by the unusually high number of races up for grabs and concludes that the party alignment in the Senate is unlikely to swing by

more than one seat in one direction or the other.

It appears that eight Republican incumbents are safe bets for re-election—including, contrary to some reports, Larry Craig in Idaho, Phil Gramm in Texas, and John Warner in Virginia. The re-election prospects for the most vulnerable Republicans—Mitch McConnell in Kentucky, Robert Smith in New Hampshire, and Strom Thurmond in South Carolina—have improved recently, and in South Dakota Larry Pressler is well funded and running a stronger campaign than expected. The North Carolina race will be close, with the candidates fighting over the 10 per cent of voters who neither love nor hate the 74-year-old Jesse Helms, but GOP campaign staff point out that Helms appears stronger now than he did six years ago—and Clinton’s anti-tobacco jihad has hurt Democratic challenger Harvey Gantt.

The most vulnerable Democratic incumbents, meanwhile, are now tied with their challengers. Support for both Massachusetts’s John Kerry (opposed by William Weld) and Minnesota’s Paul Wellstone (opposed by Rudy Boschwitz) is below 50 per cent, and these close races will turn on the candidates’ personalities and records rather than Bob Dole’s performance.

How Bob Dole fares is more important in states with open seats. The race between Democrat Robert Torricelli and Republican Dick Zimmer in New Jersey to replace Democrat Bill Bradley is expected to be tight to the end. The fate of Republicans Al Salvi in Illinois and Guy Millner in Georgia may also depend on Dole’s strength. Although generally optimistic about picking up seats in these races, GOP strategists

worry about low turnout from a dispirited Republican base.

Republican Mike Enzi is doing well in Wyoming in the seat being vacated by Republican Alan Simpson, and in Alabama, Jeff Sessions, a U.S. Attorney under Reagan, is favored over career politician Roger Bedford to pick up the seat of retiring Democrat Howell Heflin. In Kansas Republican Pat Roberts has a commanding lead over Sally Thompson to replace Nancy Kassebaum, and freshman Republican Rep. Sam Brownback leads Jill Docking for the seat vacated by Bob Dole.

Republicans are more likely to lose their open seats in Maine, Rhode Island, and Oregon, where Clinton enjoys a lead, but currently Republican Senate candidates are running ahead of both Bob Dole and their Democratic opponents in these key races.

Despite his dismal approval rating, incumbent Democrat Carl Levin holds a large lead in Michigan, where Ronna Romney has not recovered from a bruising primary fight. Tom Harkin of Iowa, once thought vulnerable, leads Jim Lightfoot by six points in the polls and by 3 to 1 in fundraising. Delaware likes its incumbent politicians for their clout, and so it appears that Joe Biden will survive a competitive challenge.

WHICHEVER party runs the Senate next year, some good news awaits conservatives. As either Majority or Minority Leader, Trent Lott will be presiding over a more conservative Republican caucus. With the retirements of moderate Republicans Cohen, Hatfield, Kassebaum, Simpson, and Dole, the Senate GOP’s center shifts right. Conservative contenders Sam Brownback, Tim Hutchinson, Al Salvi, Jeff Sessions, and Mike Enzi would bring ideological commitment and reformist energy to an institution badly in need of both. —KO’B

cans have good reason to feel a jittery optimism as Democratic operatives glumly survey the unfriendly political landscape that must yield them a net gain of twenty seats if they are to take back the House.

Bill Clinton enjoys an 8-to-17 point lead in national polls, but congressional Democrats don't share in his newfound popularity. In generic ballot tests, Republicans basically tie with Democrats when voters are asked their preference. As Clinton expanded his lead over the summer, congressional Democrats have trailed him by roughly 6 points, while Republicans surpass Dole in popularity by about 7 points. The "Republican" tag is more appealing than Bob Dole, and the "Democrat" label is less attractive than Bill Clinton. (No wonder there were so few donkeys in Chicago).

In addition to the brand-name advantage, the political climate appears to favor Republicans this November. The incumbent Congress benefits almost as much as Clinton from the good economy and the absence of polarizing issues. In 1994, voters unhappy with the political status quo "threw the bums out;" 75 per cent of close races went to the GOP. There is little evidence of similar voter sentiment this year. In late June Congress's disapproval ratings were 18 points ahead of its approval ratings; disapproval has been reduced by 2 points. Congressional Republicans are basking in the sunrise of Clinton's Morning in America.

Even in the revolt of 1994, 91 per cent of incumbents who ran were re-elected, and this year 235 Republicans will enjoy the benefits of incumbency that used to frustrate conservatives. Republicans as the majority party now hold the fundraising and agenda-setting advantages exploited by Democrats in the past. "Now that I'm on the inside I finally understand why Democrats held the House during the Reagan years," says one grateful GOP leadership aide.

The Republicans today enjoy a much smaller majority than the Democrats had in the 1980s, but the electoral math still favors them this year. Democrats are defending 30 open seats—17 of which are in the South. Republicans appear to be ahead in 13 of the 30 (in 6 races they lead by over 18 points). There are 23 open Republican seats, about half of which are being credibly contested. But resources are not as evenly matched as the number of vul-

nerable open seats. "Our challengers are being outspent in open seats and that's making it tough," complains a Democratic operative. If the parties each hold half their open seats, Democrats would also have to defeat about 25 Republican incumbents to win the 218 seats needed to control the House.

SOME GOP freshmen are considered the most vulnerable incumbents because, as one Democratic political strategist explained in reference to the 1994 election, "in tidal waves dead fish wash up on shore." The huge GOP freshman class of two years ago contained some weak candidates, and others won in districts whose demographics are heavily stacked against them. Democrats believe that about ten of these newcomers are "probably gone," including



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Michael Flanagan in Illinois, Steve Stockman in Texas, Jim Bunn in Oregon, Jim Longley in Maine, Helen Chenoweth in Idaho, and Andrea Seastrand in California. The AFL-CIO has pounded these freshmen with attack ads, spending

The Republicans hold the House with the smallest margin in forty years. If Clinton were to win by large margins in districts where the congressional race is tight, that could tip the balance

an estimated \$900,000 in Rep. Seastrand's district alone to soften her up for a re-match with her 1994 opponent, whom she beat by only 1,500 votes. Democrats currently lead in some of these races, but they remain "tricky" by the strategist's admission.

Another two dozen vulnerable GOP incumbents, though ahead of their challengers, are below 50 per cent in the polls. But timing has favored the Republicans. The Democratic Party was recruiting candidates over a year ago, when Republicans had an air of invincibility and Bill Clinton was reduced to explaining that he wasn't irrelevant. So not all the Democratic challengers will be of the quality necessary to exploit the weaknesses of GOP incumbents.

Still, the deck would appear to be stacked in favor of the Democrats. For starters, the Republicans hold the House with the smallest margin in forty years. There is little evidence that Clinton has coattails sufficient to beat a significant number of GOP incumbents. Still, if Clinton were to win by large margins in districts where the congressional race is tight, that could tip the balance.

The Democrats will also be helped by an energized base this year. The unions will be in high gear, and there is little chance that the liberal voters who sat out 1994 will stay home again. The prospect of a Clinton win and Gingrich loss will draw them to the polls. Republicans, meanwhile, face a dispirited base. The outlook should improve as presidential polls tighten, but reports of exit polling on election day could lower turnout on the West Coast, where Republicans face some of their closest races.

In his recent study of all the competitive congressional races, political analyst Stuart Rothenberg concludes that Democrats have only a 30 per cent chance of taking control of the House. This could change, however, if congressional races are nationalized as they were in 1994. Clinton might engineer another government shutdown and blame the "extremist" House in an attempt to revive the voter disgust of last winter. He would be gambling that Newt's troops would be held accountable and that his recent popularity would immunize him.

Republicans could have a few strategic tricks up their own sleeves. Some Republicans have already polled their districts and learned that voters are more disposed to vote for a

Republican for Congress if it looks as if Clinton will be serving a second term as President. If it became clear next month that Clinton's lead is closer to 17 than 8, or if Dole performs poorly in the first debate, some Republican congressional candidates might explicitly acknowledge Clinton's inevitable re-election. Clinton engineered his comeback on the back of a GOP Congress, and it might be fair play if Republicans held their majority on his. But Republicans might be well advised not to push this maneuver too hard. They might succeed only in further demoralizing their own base. If that happened, the Republican majority really would go the way of Newt's dinosaur. □

The Right Agenda

RAMESH PONNURU

WE HAVE it on the authority of Newt Gingrich that the November elections are the most important in living memory. *Washington Post* columnist E. J. Dionne Jr. points out that more issues are on the table this year than ever before: everything from Medicare to labor law to abortion policy depends on the outcome. Yet voter interest was almost twice as high at this point in 1992. A large part of the explanation for this minor paradox is that in the big, attention-grabbing race—the one for the Presidency—a) the pundits have declared the election over and b) the differences between the candidates are being muted: Bob Dole has been running an inept campaign and Bill Clinton a dishonest one.

Still, a few important issues have risen to the surface of the political debate. And despite the bleak mood among Republicans, it is striking how well conservative positions on key issues are playing.

Taxes. Bob Dole has made a 15 per cent tax cut the centerpiece of his campaign. It took two months of wrangling for Dole to settle on a plan, but the general outcome was never in doubt. Tax-rate reduction is the most powerful issue that unites the Republican Party; and the tax issue has been crucial to the last four successful presidential campaigns, from Reagan to Clinton, and to a slew of recent gubernatorial victories. The political appeal of tax cuts is sometimes exaggerated. Reagan had a lot of other issues working for him in 1980. And tax cuts looked particularly attractive during the stagflation of the Seventies—whereas today's economy is tolerable, if lackluster.

The late Seventies also saw an impressive educational

Mr. Ponnuru is NR's national reporter.

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campaign by Jack Kemp and allied supply-siders that has not been replicated in the 1990s. And voters have now been burned twice in a row by presidential candidates on tax issues. George Bush's betrayal of his no-new-taxes pledge and Bill Clinton's failure to deliver a middle-class tax cut have left a residue of public skepticism that is now the chief obstacle to candidates promising tax cuts. Voters would like tax cuts, says Karlyn Bowman, a widely respected poll-watcher at the American Enterprise Institute. But, she says, "I don't think they think anybody's serious about following through."

REPUBLICAN pollster Frank Luntz maintains that voters "desperately want tax relief." At a Dole campaign rally in Illinois which I recently attended, Clinton-Gore campaign staffers were busy handing out poll results that suggest voters are more interested in deficit reduction than tax cuts. That's the politically correct answer for respondents to give: people are supposed to say balancing the budget is very important, while tax cuts are a selfish indulgence. It doesn't mean deficit reduction will win more votes than tax cuts, and indeed historical experience suggests the reverse. Besides, voters seem receptive to arguments that tax cuts and deficit reduction are compatible. Ed Miller, director of research at the conservative Polling Company, reports that 84 per cent of the public agrees that tax cuts and spending cuts are possible "if Congress and the President just put their will into it." Kellyanne Fitzpatrick, the company's president, further points out that voters respond more favorably to spending cuts than to "deficit reduction." And the more specific the cuts, the better, even if they're small in budgetary terms. "People in focus groups still remember how much the military was spending on toilet seats and screw-drivers," she says.

President Clinton, in his acceptance speech at the Democratic convention, argued that Dole's plan would "explode the deficit," which would increase interest rates and, in turn, cause a recession. This rather lengthy chain of deductions, in addition to being ludicrous, asks a lot of voters who aren't obsessed by politics, and there's no evidence that the argument is making any headway. Democrats have fallen for the trap of advocating fiscal austerity, a trap consciously laid by the Dole campaign. Furthermore, while Clinton's counter-offer of "targeted tax cuts" (geared to funneling yet more money to the education establishment) has a certain scientific ring to it, it also invites Dole's devastating reply: "In short, not only does Clinton have hundreds of ideas on

how the government can take and spend more of your money, he also wants to dictate how you should spend what's left."

Overcoming public skepticism, then, is more imperative for Dole than countering Democrats' arguments. He probably can be trusted to deliver on tax cuts. For one thing, he seems, finally, genuinely to believe in them. And Bob Dole is an honorable man: friend and foe alike testify that he keeps his promises. To sell the tax plan, however, he will have to do a better job of explaining its tangible benefits. Miss Fitzpatrick says voters "want Dole to do the math for them. He must anecdotally demonstrate that the Williams family in Lubbock that makes \$X will have this much more money, and give examples of four or five things they could do with that money—like sending their first-grader to private school or buying more groceries." Since women tend to feel strapped more for time than for cash, it would be wise for Dole also to mention that a tax cut would enable parents to spend more time with their children.

Gun control and crime control. If Republicans are running on the one big idea of tax cuts, Democrats are offering a bunch of little ideas: V-chips, toll-free hotlines for this or that. One half expects Clinton to demand more luggage carriers at airports. Gun control, however, is one of the few major issues Democrats were willing to highlight at their Chicago convention. (Sarah Brady, Mrs. Handgun Control Inc., gave a speech on opening night.) Democrats think their support for gun control and "100,000 cops on the street" has reduced the sizable advantage Republicans used to have on crime issues. They're right. Beginning in the fall of 1990, Mrs. Bowman says, "the perception of the randomness of violence made the public want to get a little

Democracy in Action II

*... and so was George Washington Plunkitt (1842-1924),
the subject of Plunkitt of Tammany Hall*

YOU ought to attend one of these meetin's. They're a liberal education in patriotism. The great hall upstairs is filled with five thousand people, suffocatin' from heat and smoke. Every man Jack of these five thousand knows that down in the basement there's a hundred cases of champagne and two hundred kegs of beer ready to flow when the signal is given. Yet that crowd stick to their seats without turnin' a hair while, for four solid hours, the Declaration of Independence is read, long-winded orators speak, and the glee club sings itself hoarse.

And then see how they applaud and yell when patriotic things are said! As soon as the man on the platform starts off with "when, in the course of human events," word goes around that it's the Declaration of Independence, and a mighty roar goes up. The Declaration ain't a very short document and the crowd has heard it on every Fourth but they give it just as fine a send-off as if it was brand-new and awful excitin'. Sometimes human nature gets the better of a man in the audience and he begins to nod, but he always wakes up with a hurah for the Declaration of Independence.

—WILLIAM RIORDAN

NR West



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Education Deform

MICHAEL SANERA

A GROUP of second-graders in Tucson, Arizona, was recently taken to a construction site and shown the clearing of desert land for new homes. The teacher then had them write letters to the editor of the local newspaper, explaining how they "felt" about what they had seen. Apparently they had not been instructed about the demand for new housing, housing markets and prices, or economic trade-offs, because all 13 of the students' letters conveyed precisely the same opinion: the construction of the new homes—for families much like their own—was a terrible thing. This was, presumably, what the teacher intended.

These letters are a stark, but all-too-common example of environmental education in practice. "Man is killing Mother Nature just for money," concluded a boy named Brian. "It's like a battle between nature and money, and so far money is winning." A girl named Katie took a slightly different tack, concluding from the clearing of

cactus and other plants that animals "won't have a house. It's just because of money that they [the construction company] are killing the animals." Thus, as Mike Weilbacher has observed in *E* magazine, are children being used as pawns in the environmental crusades of activist grown-ups.

This should not be surprising. When the National Environmental Education Act was passed into law in 1990, it established the Division of Environmental Education in the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), as well as the National Environmental Education and Training Foundation. These bureaus were to administer teacher training, curriculum research and development, and environment-related internships and fellowships for students. Congress authorized \$65 million to fund them in the first five years.

AS THE Tucson incident suggests, this money has produced some less-than-balanced teaching materials and methods. Scare tactics are also common: one biology textbook asks children to "imagine what it *will* be like for you and your children to live in a world without elephants, giraffes, tigers, or monkeys" (emphasis added; although it is absurd to suggest that these species will die out, it is presented to children as a *fait accompli*).

Now the EPA is seeking re-authorization of the 1990 law. The National Environmental Education Amendment Act of 1996 passed the Senate in early August. The House was to consider it in September, but now is unlikely to do so, leaving its fate up to the next Congress. This delay might be for the better. Even many long-time congressional critics of EPA policies currently believe that minor changes to the 1990 statute would correct the abuses of environmental education—namely, a requirement that EPA support "balanced and scientifically sound programs" and a prohibition of "lobbying activity." These changes, however, fail to get to the heart of the problem. Let us consider them individually.

First, "balance." EPA's definition of balance excludes any criticism of its own policies: a 1994 "Environmental Science Education Materials Review Guide" instructs teachers, curriculum authors, and grant recipients that educational materials must "reflect EPA policy on the topics explored." And to be honest, it is perfectly reasonable to expect a bureaucracy such as EPA to fund or promote only those views which justify its existence and power—not to mention its budget. What is perfectly *unreasonable* is to give such a bureaucracy power over the education of the nation's children.

What about "sound science"? My review of more than 140 science, health, and geography textbooks for students in the sixth through the tenth grades, and of over 170 environmental books for young people, suggests it is in short supply. For instance, with few exceptions, these books fail to mention that there is a serious controversy

(Continues on page West-4)

WEST WORLD

■ The drought was finally eased when President Clinton ordered the tears cried at the Democratic convention to be dumped on Western states.

■ A Washington State anthropologist, Jim Chatters, excavated a thousand-year-old skeleton—the oldest complete skeleton yet found in the Pacific Northwest—a couple of months ago on the Columbia River in Kennewick. This discovery has led to a predictable dispute between Chatters and other scientists, who want to study the bones, and three Indian tribes who have claimed it as an ancestor and want it reburied forthwith. The skeleton is in federal custody as negotiations proceed, and a court case is imminent. This case would probably be open and shut in favor of the Indians—under the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990—but for one important factor: the skeleton's European-shaped skull suggests it belonged to a Caucasian. Based on similar skeletons found in Nevada in the 1940s, a Texas A&M anthropologist has estimated that the European-skulled people arrived in America a thousand years before people with rounder, Mongolian-type skulls. In this light, we can understand the contemporary Indians' concern: what if further study proves that Caucasians were the *true* Native Americans, and were forced into extinction by the ancestors of today's Indians? This could present a threat to the windfall profits of the latter's burgeoning gaming empire. Reparations, anyone?

■ Archaeologists discovered a cave in Idaho that may have been used as a meat locker four thousand years ago. Also discovered were primitive golden arches and a sign saying, "Over 3 served."

■ A research fellow at the University of California, Santa Barbara, has detected the northern migration of a species of butterfly—to be exact, the Edith's checkerspot butterfly—and presented it as proof of global warming. But what about those satellite temperature readings which show no global warming—and maybe even a subtle global cooling—over the past 17 years? Our alternative migration theory is that the checkerspots are moving for purposes of improved educational opportunities, in hopes that Oregon scholars are less driven than California's by ideological fashion.

■ The Hollywood entertainment indus-

try continues to throw its weight and money behind the Clinton campaign, most recently at a \$2,500-per-person event in Bel-Air. Steven Spielberg, Jeffrey Katzenberg, David Geffen, Norman Lear, and Lew Wasserman hosted, while Barbra Streisand and the Eagles performed. Meanwhile, poor beleaguered Bob Dole is being sued by L.A.-based Rondor Music for following an age-old political practice—remember "Hello Lyndon" in 1964?—and adopting a popular song for campaign purposes. In this case he had a band performing the 1967 Sam and Dave hit, "Soul Man"—reworked to include the lyrics, "I'm a Dole man"—at campaign stops. The Dole campaign has stopped using the song, but Rondor wants money for past uses. Well, no one ever said you could fight the culture war without getting your hair mussed.

■ With Hollywood buzzing over reports that the lead character on the Disney sitcom *Ellen* will reveal herself as a lesbian, Minnie Mouse and Daisy Duck were seen holding hands at an Orange County night spot.

■ In our February 20, 1995, issue we published the story of a retirement-aged couple named Karl and Elizabeth Pfaff. The Pfaffs rejected a rental application from a family of five, based on their rental home's size, which they thought was suitable only for a family of four. The rejected family complained to HUD, which sued the Pfaffs for discriminating on the basis of "familial status." An administrative law judge ruled against the Pfaffs, fining them \$32,000, including \$24,000 for the "suffering" they caused the rejected family. HUD Secretary Henry Cisneros let this stand, and the Pfaffs appealed to the Ninth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeal. Now we are happy to report that the appeals panel issued a reversal, holding that HUD's actions fell "well outside the limits of good government . . . because HUD acted



arbitrarily and capriciously" in bringing the action in the first place. The Pfaffs also recovered \$30,000 in attorney fees. There is justice in the universe, if not at HUD.

■ Johnny Cochran has been making the rounds in black churches. The message of his "sermon," entitled "Where Do We Go from Here?," is that racism is as much a problem in 1996 as it was in 1896. His queerest piece of evidence is that in 1896, the Supreme Court established the legal doctrine of "separate but equal," and that in 1996 the courts and supporters of the California Civil Rights Initiative are dismantling affirmative action. Of course, the Supreme Court *did* act wrongly in 1896, in the case of *Plessy v. Ferguson*. But as Cochran must know, the most famous line from that decision is from the great dissenting opinion of Justice John Paul Harlan: "Our Constitution is color-blind, and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens." It is precisely this opinion which animates the current legal and political assaults on race-based quotas and preferences, a/k/a affirmative action. Mr. Cochran's comparison just doesn't fly. If Cochran and Co. don't get their way, Justice Harlan's view will finally become law in California.

■ Liberals are sounding a little desperate as polls continue to favor CCRI. Writes Karen Grigsby Bates on the *Los Angeles Times* opinion page: "I'm not ready to begin drinking from 'colored only' drinking fountains or checking out books from a library that's poorly stocked with secondhand, outdated material because the good stuff is in libraries that my taxes support but I cannot use. And I have the sick feeling that passage of the CCRI is merely the first step down a slippery slope in that direction." This is a wacky claim about an initiative that would prohibit racial discrimination. But it seems to have convinced Roger Cardinal Mahoney of Los Angeles, who recently announced his opposition to CCRI, calling it a "retreat" from the battle against discrimination and condemning the "elimination of affirmative action." By the way, Cardinal, would you be willing to come out from behind your constitutional protections and have the quota-and-preference regime extended to the Catholic Church? Come to think of it, has the Cardinal embraced the doctrine that racial and gender proportionality will be strictly observed at Judgment Day?

■ Initiatives on the ballot in California and Arizona would, if approved, legalize marijuana use for medical purposes. Bill Clinton admitted he once entered a voting booth for a marijuana initiative, but didn't pull the lever.

■ Hawaii is now in court. Despite the fact that upwards of 72 per cent of Hawaiians oppose homosexual marriages, there is a good chance that either the circuit court or, on appeal, the state Supreme Court, will legalize them. Hawaii's Democratic governor, Benjamin Cayetano, has meanwhile proposed that "the state should get out of the business of sanctioning marriages and

leave that to the churches." Cayetano reflects a common liberal view today that considers all moral issues—whether abortion or marriage laws—to be private religious issues, in regard to which individuals should be left free to act as their reason or passions guide them. This point of view is not unprecedented. In the decades leading up to the Civil War, slavery was not the only issue that divided Americans to the point of violence. Indeed, while fellow Illinoisans Stephen Douglas and Abraham Lincoln are most famous for their disagreement about extending slavery to the territories—Douglas advocating "popular sovereignty," by which each territory could vote slavery up or down, Lincoln arguing that slavery violated America's natural-law principles, which transcend the principle of majority rule—they were also at odds over the legal standing of polygamy. The Mormons, who had settled at Nauvoo, Illinois, before being burned out and trekking west to the Great Salt Lake, had always supported the morally "tolerant" Douglas. The very first Republican Party Platform in 1856, on the other hand, contained a strongly worded pledge "to prohibit in the Territories those twin relics of barbarism—Polygamy and Slavery," on the ground that these practices debased human nature. Religious right intolerance! No Big Tent! No wonder the Republicans lost in 1856—to a guy named Buchanan, yet.

■ Governor Pete Wilson hopes to curb drug and gang activity by deploying 17 California Highway Patrol officers in Hollywood. If there are fewer gang members as a result, it will be because they died laughing.

■ Also in Hawaii, thirty thousand of the approximately 156,000 "Native Hawaiians" who make up the state's total population of 1.2 million have voted three-to-one to form a government of their own. Two odd things about this: One is that despite great enthusiasm from some in the Native Hawaiian Rights Movement—"This is our time in history," declared one of its leaders—there is no consensus about the movement's ultimate goal, e.g., about what "rights" they want that they do not have under the U.S. Constitution. The even odder thing is that public money was used to fund this racially restrictive plebiscite. And Governor Cayetano, again, is open to the idea of using *more* tax money to support a constitutional convention for Native Hawaiians in 1998. All we can say is, it's a good thing Hawaii doesn't have professional sports, because by 2000, the national anthems before a Hawaii Surfers-Montreal Expos game could take half an hour.

■ San Francisco's Mayor Willie Brown, recipient of more contributions from tobacco companies than any other California politician, has been named "Humanitarian of the Year" by the American Cancer Society. What's next, State Senator Tom Hayden named "Best Friend of Free Enterprise" by the California Chamber of Commerce?

SANERA

(Continued from page West-1)

among scientists regarding "global warming," or report the fact that satellite readings show the earth's temperature to be stable or *decreasing* slightly since 1979. Nor do they reference the largest study ever of acid rain—the National Acid Precipitation Assessment Program, a ten-year, \$500 million government-sponsored project—which concluded that acid rain is significantly less severe than is reported in almost all environmental education materials. And the list goes on.

Indeed, if the EPA were concerned

about science, it would incorporate more science in its teaching materials. Instead, its draft report to Congress on its implementation of the 1990 National Environmental Education Act criticizes current environmental education materials for having "a disproportionate emphasis on science-oriented activities." The bottom line is that science, like "balance" above, runs the risk of undermining EPA's arguments for more money and power.

This is not the case with environmental politics—which brings us to the topic of lobbying.

It is true that recommended revisions to the 1990 law would prohibit formal

lobbying—electioneering, partisan activity, and direct attempts to influence legislation—with the use of federal grant money. But this narrow, technical prohibition does nothing to stop the trend toward incorporating political activism into environmental-education curricula. In fact, EPA's report to Congress makes it abundantly clear that it intends to encourage more, not less political activity by students. For instance, the teaching of "environmental action skills" is listed as one of four "goal levels," and thorough exposure to all four of these "goal levels" is described as necessary "for individuals and groups to make informed decisions and take responsible

ENDANGERED IN OREGON

Lucky Suckers

DO ordinary people have rights under the Endangered Species Act, or is the ESA the legal preserve solely of environmental activists? The U.S. Supreme Court is expected to answer that critical question this fall in a little-noticed case of immense importance.

In 1992, federal Fish and Wildlife Service officials decided to cut the flow of water from some Oregon lakes to a state irrigation district, in order to protect two species of fish which had been listed as endangered—the Lost River sucker and the shortnose sucker. But a group of local ranchers and farmers who relied on the water thought the government was making suckers out of them and endangering their livelihood.

Confident that they could persuade a court that the protection measures were unnecessary and that the fish in question were actually doing just fine, the ranchers and farmers joined with the Oregon irrigation district and filed suit under provisions of the ESA that allow citizen challenges. But they never got a chance to make their case: a year after they filed, a federal judge threw out the suit. This decision was not based on the merits of their arguments. Rather, the

court determined that the ranchers and farmers had no standing in the case because they were suing to protect the interests of people, not those of endangered species.

In August 1995, the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeal upheld the original ruling in the following terms: "This case requires us to determine whether plaintiffs who assert no interest in preserving endangered species may sue the government for violating the procedures established in the Endangered Species Act. We conclude that they may not." The appeals court thus ruled unequivocally that "only plaintiffs who allege an interest in the *preservation* of endangered species fall within the zone of interests protected by the Endangered Species Act" (emphasis in original). Those seeking to protect their own economic interest, or challenging the listing of certain species on scientific grounds, are considered irrelevant. In other words, only environmental activists need apply. Those with other motivations are second-class citizens.

Imagine the ramifications if the decision in this case—*Bennett v. Plenert*—is upheld by the high court. It would be tantamount to saying that no county, city, builder, landowner, or scientist has any standing to challenge an ESA listing, unless their motivations are "pure" from an ideological environmentalist standpoint. Only those who seek to preserve a "species" (which, some biologists would argue, is not a species at

all), would be heard. It's a classic Catch-22 for those adversely affected by ESA enforcement.

Such a ruling would be dangerous enough if the rules for listing species under the ESA were being applied sensibly. But they are not. Species are routinely listed as endangered based on the flimsiest of evidence—evidence the public is often not even permitted to see.

No matter how the Supreme Court rules in this case, the plight of the Oregon ranchers and farmers provides ample illustration of why the ESA is in need of dramatic reform. Already the plaintiffs have suffered four years of economic hardship due to questionable application of the law. They have been denied due process under the law because their interest in its application is economic. And their experience with the ESA is by no means an aberration; far too many Americans have lived through similar horror stories—blocked from building homes on their property, forced to pay fines for accidentally disturbing "habitats," even jailed for using their land in clearly responsible ways.

Are the needs of obscure fish, rats, lizards, and insects more important than the needs of people? What once may have seemed like a rhetorical—even ridiculous—question has been answered in the courts over and over again in the affirmative. Yes, the courts have too often said, the critters and their advocates are more important than farmers, ranchers, property owners, good science, common sense, and the Constitution.

Let's hope, this time, the high court puts the people and the rule of law ahead of misguided environmental activism.

—RICHARD POMBO & JOSEPH FARAH

Rep. Pombo (R., Calif.) chairs the congressional task force charged with re-authorizing the Endangered Species Act. Mr. Farah is executive director of the Western Journalism Center. They have recently co-authored This Land is Our Land (St. Martin's Press).

actions regarding the environment. . . .” In practice, this means kids are taught to act politically, e.g., by writing to newspapers or elected representatives, in support of environmentalist causes.

NOR is the political bias of EPA-sponsored education strictly limited to environmental issues. It is slanted generally toward bureaucracy and against free-market autonomy.

The EPA report to Congress on the 1990 National Environmental Education Act states flatly: “The future health and welfare of our nation depends on our ability to use the Earth’s resources sustainably.” EPA’s pet concept of “sustainability” requires the creation of economic and resource-development policies which “meet present needs without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.” This obviously requires a lot of information about current use of natural resources, future technological developments, and future resource usage patterns. The latter two are difficult, if not impossible, to foresee accurately (for instance, forty years ago, experts failed to predict the power of the personal computer or the modern applications of DNA research). Therefore in practice, what takes the place of knowledge of the future is *control* of the future, through centralized regulation of the economy.

In fact, “sustainability” is not the only policy model consistent with accepted environmental goals. The Educational Testing Service, which produces and administers SAT and Advanced Placement tests for college admissions, is developing an environmental-science course for high schools. And it has placed “sustainability” in the context of three competing—and more market-friendly—environmental concepts: conservation, preservation, and remediation. The difference between this approach and EPA’s is the difference between education and indoctrination.

Minor changes to the 1990 National Environmental Education Act won’t alter the fact that bureaucratic education is an oxymoron. Re-authorization should simply be denied. □

Mr. Sanera is director of the Center for Environmental Education Research in Tucson, Arizona, and co-author (with Jane Shaw) of the forthcoming book, Facts Not Fear: A Parent’s Guide to Teaching Children About the Environment (Regnery).

NECTARINES & FREE SPEECH

Generic Tyranny

SIGFREDO CABRERA

MOST Americans would be shocked to know the extent of regulatory power of the Department of Agriculture. We hear most about price controls and acreage restrictions, which give the federal bureaucracy enormous power over our food supply and the prices we pay at the store. But the Department of Agriculture also regulates the size of certain produce. For instance, since 1992, nectarines less than 2½ inches in diameter have been banned from the marketplace. USDA’s rationale is duly recorded in the *Federal Register*: “The minimum size requirements established for California nectarines recognize that larger sized nectarines provide greater consumer satisfaction than those of smaller sizes.” (Don’t you feel better knowing that Uncle Sam is on top of your nectarine preferences?)

The huge and destructive scope of the regulation of American agriculture is worthy of a voluminous exposé. But the particular focus of this article is a largely overlooked subcategory of that regulation: Federal bureaucrats exert extraordinary control over the flow of *commercial information* about certain farm products. This control is the object of a First Amendment lawsuit currently before the U.S. Supreme Court.

Restrictions on the sale of specific fruits and vegetables (called “marketing orders”) are imposed by government marketing boards made up of farmers appointed by the Department of Agriculture. These boards have vast discretionary powers and can severely punish farmers who oversell their crops. But one of the boards’ additional functions is to coerce farmers to subsidize “generic” advertisements that extol the virtues of certain commodities. Remember the dancing raisins, “Got Milk?” and “It’s the Cheese” ad campaigns? These were

financed through mandatory fees paid by individual producers and handlers.

According to Damon Darlin of *Forbes*, marketing boards for agricultural products rake in over \$750 million a year from U.S. farmers through coerced contributions. (The government contributes an additional \$90 million of taxpayers’ money for overseas promotions.) In California alone, about fifty such boards collect some \$125 million from growers annually.

Who are the chief beneficiaries of this practice? Bureaucrats for one: of the California Tree Fruit boards, Darlin reports that they “collect almost \$7 million a year from growers and spend 20 per cent on salaries and expenses for 20

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Mr. Cabrera is director of communications at the Pacific Legal Foundation.

staffers." The advertising industry stands to gain a lot as well: "The Fluid Milk Processors Promotion Board's milk mustache campaign is an anticipated \$165 million national campaign; assuming the usual industry cut, ad agency Bozell Worldwide could get over \$22 million of that as its fee."

WE must ask ourselves: Why should a small California grower be forced to pay government functionaries and a Madison Avenue public-relations firm for advertising that says his competitors' products are as good as his? More generally, where does the Federal Government get the idea that it should tell business owners how to promote their products in the first place?

With specific regard to the marketing-order program for California's peach and nectarine industry, U.S. Agriculture Secretary Dan Glickman claims that the Federal Government has an interest in "enhancing returns to [the] growers." While no one would dispute the national importance of a strong agricultural economy, Glickman's excuse for generic advertising is antithetical to free-market economics, which depends for success

on the free flow of commercial information. Only an unregulated information flow can effectively educate the multitude of private decisions that drive the free-market system. Stifling this freedom can only work to the detriment of producers and consumers alike.

Such was the concern of Wileman Brothers & Elliot, Inc., a grower and handler of California peaches and nectarines. Pursuant to the Department of Agriculture's marketing orders, Wileman is forced to pay an assessment for generic advertising with which it disagrees. Moreover, this assessment reduces Wileman's ability to pursue its own individual advertising program. On these grounds the corporation is challenging the Federal Government's mandatory fee program in a case now before the U.S. Supreme Court—*Glickman v. Wileman Bros. & Elliot, Inc.*

The term "generic" in the context of advertising peaches and nectarines is a misnomer. There are more than 230 varieties of these fruits marketed in California. These varieties differ in taste, odor, and color. Many are proprietary varieties grown by a single grower. There are even cross-varieties that combine peaches and nectarines in a single

fruit. "To advertise, as does Secretary Glickman with the growers' money, that all California peaches and nectarines are the same, is simply not true," said Mark Gallagher, an attorney with the Pacific Legal Foundation who filed a brief supporting Wileman. "Furthermore, such a message denigrates the individual efforts of growers and handlers who have developed specific varieties of peaches and nectarines to fulfill the demands of the market place."

FREEING growers to expand their individual advertising efforts would also serve the interests of consumers. Instead of receiving insipid and uninformative messages—such as that "California nectarines are the juiciest"—consumers would be provided with specific facts about the many varieties available, their distinct characteristics and, of course, the names of the growers producing them. This would allow consumers to make more informed decisions.

Perhaps more importantly, Wileman's arguments against the government echo Thomas Jefferson's traditional American view that "to compel a man to furnish contributions of money for the propagation of ideas which he disbelieves is sinful and tyrannical." This principle has been endorsed by the Supreme Court in other contexts: *Aboud v. Detroit Board of Education* (1977) held that mandatory union dues cannot be used for political activities that are unrelated to collective bargaining, and *Keller v. State Bar of California* (1990) prohibited the ideological use of mandatory bar association dues. Likewise the California Supreme Court, relying upon the precedent in *Keller*, held in *Smith v. Regents of the University of California* (1993) that college students should not be forced to subsidize campus political groups and their lobbying activities through mandatory student fees.

"The *Glickman* case is no different," notes Gallagher. "By requiring individual fruit handlers to contribute their limited advertising dollars to the funding of a generic advertising program, the Federal Government has necessarily limited the ideas and information that would otherwise be found in the commercial marketplace. Not only does this infringe on the speakers' rights to disseminate their own messages, it also diminishes the amount and variety of information that would otherwise be available to their audience." □

QUOTAS, PREFERENCES & AFFIRMATIVE ACTION A CONFERENCE ON VICTIMS OF REVERSE DISCRIMINATION

Friday, October 18, 1996, The Double Tree Hotel, Pasadena, California

KEYNOTE SPEAKER: California Attorney General Dan Lungren (invited)

PANELISTS INCLUDE... Larry Arn, The Claremont Institute, Conference Chairman; Terry Eastland, Ethic and Public Policy Center; Clint Bolick, Institute for Justice; Edward Erler, The Claremont Institute; Rob Corry, Pacific Legal Foundation; Dinesh D'Souza, American Enterprise Institute; Bob Zelnick, ABC News; Pam Lewis, Attorney

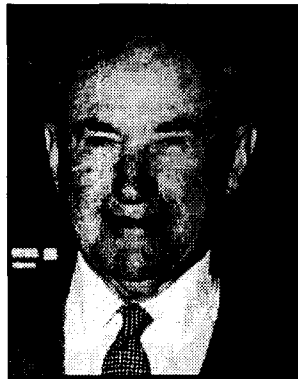
REVERSE DISCRIMINATION VICTIMS INCLUDE... Janice Camarena, *Camarena v. San Bernardino Valley College*; Cheryl Hopwood, *Hopwood v. Texas*; Michael Cornelius, *Cornelius v. MTA*; Donald Ware, Fontana Steel; Janine Jacinto, CSUS

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THE ESTATES OF TWO MOVIE GIANTS



Samuel Goldwyn



Jack L. Warner

Gross Estate	\$ 27,550,901
Total Taxes & Costs	<u>1,497,382</u>
Net Estate	\$ 26,053,519

\$ 26,267,457
<u>8,000,771</u>
\$ 18,266,686

Legendary movie moguls Jack Warner and Sam Goldwyn were instrumental in advancing the motion picture business. They both died wealthy men with the Warner estate (\$26,267,457) only slightly less than the Goldwyn estate (\$27,550,901). According to the old saw, "money isn't everything; it is just a way of keeping score," these men finished almost even. Yet Sam bested Jack in several respects in his estate plan. While the marital deduction of both were around \$11 million, Sam left \$13.8 million to charity while Jack left none. Well, it was his money after all. But the Warner estate shrunk by 30% due to costs and taxes while the Goldwyn estate shrunk by only 5%. Here is the kicker: the Samuel Goldwyn Foundation (1994 assets: \$22 million; grants the same year: \$500,000), founded in 1987 by Sam and his wife Frances, has given out millions of dollars over the years to the types of charities they favored. So if you keep score by the net worth method, you might consider making the final tally after the government takes all it can.

Let's face it, very few of us are in the same financial league as these two men. Nonetheless, if we really want to accomplish the most we can with the limited assets we possess, we have an obligation to have a will and a carefully conceived estate plan.

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White and Wrong

PETER Schembri was born in Malta to poor parents. His father was a blacksmith who earned four cents a day. After burying five of their twelve children, the Schembris immigrated to the United States in 1952. They settled in the Bayview/Hunters Point neighborhood of San Francisco.

The Schembris soon lost a sixth child. Each of the surviving kids went to work as soon as they were old enough, and the family scraped together enough money to send three of them, including Peter, to private school. Despite desperate circumstances, the Schembris instilled in their children a respect for education and hard work and a faith in America.

Following a tour of duty in Vietnam, Peter Schembri came home to attend college. In four years he earned degrees in psychology, sociology, and criminology, as well as a minor in counseling. After working five years with the Juvenile Probation Division in San Mateo, California, he found his true calling in 1978, joining the San Francisco Fire Department.

Now with a family of his own to support, Schembri prepared to rise through the ranks. He took advanced training courses, served on 15 departmental safety committees, and earned a college degree in fire science. In 1984, he tested for three advanced positions, including lieutenant.

The S.F. Fire Department ranked applicants by test scores, and hired or promoted them in that order. Peter Schembri scored well on all of the tests he took, but two of them were thrown out by a federal judge as "discriminatory," when analysis of the results showed that "protected classes" had lower average scores than their white-male colleagues. Under

court order, the Department adopted a new lieutenant exam, designed by an outside firm with consultation from minority groups. But the results were the same.

This time in response, the S.F. Fire Department was ordered to hire and promote applicants according to racial quotas. Using scores from the original lieutenant test, the first 33 white males were advanced, followed by the top 50 applicants from "protected classes." Though Schembri had a chance for promotion on the merit system, he was no longer in the running when racial classifications were applied. In the end, he was passed over for promotion by minority candidates who had ranked as many as two hundred places below him.

When the firefighters' union informed its members about the the new policy, Peter Schembri and other whites felt betrayed. The rules had been changed mid-game. All of Schembri's hard work and study were rendered futile with the stroke of a judge's pen.

In an angry and heartfelt letter to the city attorney, Schembri's wife Mary wrote: "This decision has affected me as a wife and mother. . . . My husband studied for three years for these tests. He made over four thousand flash cards and several manuals. I quizzed him for an hour every night. . . . Four months

before the test I hosted nightly study-group meetings in my living room for 6 to 8 firefighters. . . . My daughter missed her father for three years. That time will never come again. . . . My husband says that regardless of how hard he studies for another exam, the outcome will be fruitless because promotions will be given based only on gender and race, and the numbers are stacked against him."

Nevertheless, Schembri took tests for two more lieutenant positions in 1994. He placed eighth on one of them, and with eight positions opening over the next two years, he should have been the last hired. But three firefighters belonging to "protected classes" were selected in front of him, despite lower scores, leaving him unpromoted as the advancement list expired in 1996.

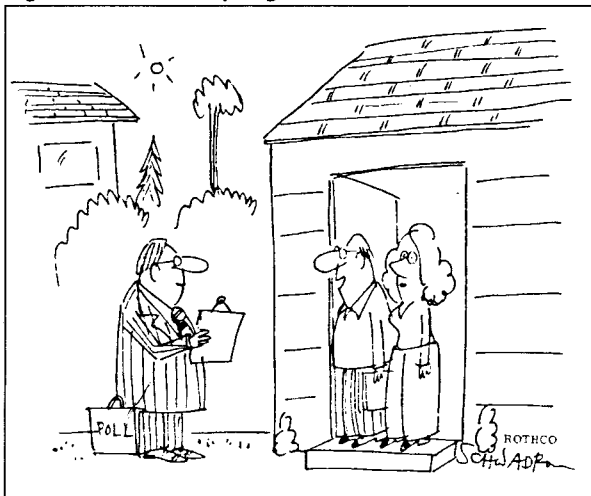
ON the other 1994 test, Schembri was passed over in favor of a minority firefighter who had scored significantly lower. That was his last chance at lieutenant. A superior officer sympathized with Schembri's plight: "I'm sorry, but you're white at the wrong time."

"I feel I've been robbed of the promise of equal opportunity," Schembri says today. "I don't think I'll be trying for another promotion any time soon." Instead he has obtained his teaching credential and hopes to find work at a community college to earn additional income. He also volunteers time for Meals on Wheels and a program to aid needy children.

Peter Schembri gives a human face to the injustice of racial preferences. Nor were his the only dreams that have been dimmed. Just a few months ago he summoned the courage to tell his parents, who brought him to America 44 years ago, that he again did not receive the promotion to lieutenant he has sought for so long.

"All those years my parents never took time off, never took a vacation. They never bought anything for themselves. They were dedicated to their children. I would like to be able to go to them some day and say I've worked hard and look at what I've done. Thank you for the opportunities you've given me. It really hurts to go back and tell them what has happened."

—TOM MCCLINTOCK & STEVEN MCCARTHY



"You're wasting your time. We always cancel each other out."

Mr. McClintock is director of regulatory affairs at the Claremont Institute. Mr. McCarthy is a research associate at the Institute's Golden State Center.



tougher”—on guns as well as criminals. Responds one Republican spokesman: “I hate to say it, but that’s probably true.” Senate Republicans are reluctant to take up tough-on-crime bills for fear of having to vote on gun-control amendments.

They may be overreacting. “This is an issue where the national public-opinion polls don’t tell us very much,” notes Mrs. Bowman. Public support for gun control is widespread but shallow. Polls have long shown support for stricter controls—but also for the right to own guns and the right to self-defense, and against total gun bans. Miss Fitzpatrick says that only 9 per cent of Americans list changing the gun laws as the first step to take to combat crime: “People still look at tougher crime policies. Women in particular are becoming much more punitive in their thinking on crime. And their number two answer was to address the real root causes of crime with family, religion, morality.” Few voters think gun control will cut crime substantially.

Meanwhile, gun-control opponents are much more inclined to vote on the issue. “The intensity on this issue is clearly on the side of supporters of the NRA,” says Mrs. Bowman, who points out that such voters were 36 per cent of the electorate in 1994, when two-thirds of them voted Republican. If the pro-choice position on guns were a polit-

ical loser, it would be hard to account for the movement toward allowing individuals to carry concealed weapons. Nineteen states have liberalized their laws over the last three years.

If Dole were in fact to lose the presidential race over guns, it would be because he has alienated gun-rights supporters rather than opponents. His flip-flop on “assault weapons” (he would no longer repeal the ban) didn’t please anyone. Tanya Metaksa, chief lobbyist for the National Rifle Association, says, “Most NRA members aren’t in favor of Clinton, but unfortunately Bob Dole has not energized them.” The NRA will sit out the presidential election, as it did in 1992 and as it didn’t in the three previous elections, when it supported successful GOP tickets. Conservative activist Grover Norquist argues that precisely because the assault-weapons issue is substantively insignificant—“assault-weapons” are a made-up category, and almost no crimes involve their use—it’s all the more symbolically important: “Your position on it has everything to do with whether you want to move toward or away from gun control.”

The liberal strategy on gun control is like the conservative strategy on abortion, with assault weapons functionally equivalent to partial-birth abortion. Both are relatively rare

Is It So Wrong For Christians To Have Rights?

Ever since the 1960s, there has been a shadow of religious persecution looming across America. Public schools have become as hostile to religion as their counterparts in communist countries.

Christians are stunned as the government threatens intervention if workers display Bibles on their desks or mention their faith to co-workers. Local zoning committees deny churches protection against zoning laws that allow bars in their vicinity. Local governments ban films by Christians like James Dobson in public facilities.

In *And Nothing But The Truth*, authors Jay Alan Sekulow and Keith A. Fournier, Christian attorneys deeply involved in defending these freedoms, present astonishing and sometimes disturbing stories from all across the nation. You will learn how you can be a part of the new revolution of religious freedom sweeping our country. And you will discover what you can do to reclaim your community and your own rights in *And Nothing But The Truth*, available wherever fine books are sold.

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and
Protecting
Their
Families*

JAY SEKULOW
KEITH FOURNIER



but hard to defend. Gun-control opponents in Congress haven't made a strong case on the issue, nor have they successfully redefined gun control to be a question of punishing criminal uses of guns. Still, says Ed Gillespie, communi-

Clinton's "100,000 cops" are playing well; the Republican message that they don't really exist isn't getting through. And Clinton's endorsement by politicized groups like the Fraternal Order of Police helps burnish his centrist image

cations director for the Republican National Committee, "there's nobody on either side of the aisle who will be hurt for voting for repeal of the assault-weapons ban." One race worth watching is the rematch between incumbent Rep. Jane Harman (D., Calif.) and Susan Brooks. "I think Jane Harman is trying to focus a lot on guns," says Mrs. Metaksa. "Susan Brooks, as a mother who has been stalked, wants the right to defend herself."

Clinton's "100,000 cops" are playing well; the Republican message that they don't really exist isn't getting through. And Clinton's endorsement by politicized groups like the Fraternal Order of Police helps burnish his centrist image. (Jim Fotis, head of the conservative, and 50,000-strong, Law Enforcement Alliance of America, says, "The FOP is not representative of its members, and the vote is not representative of its membership.") But while voters want leaders to demonstrate concern about crime, it isn't clear that they expect national politicians to affect crime rates much.

School choice. Education could be the sleeper issue of the Nineties. "It doesn't show up in quantitative polling at all," says Luntz, "but it's just under the surface. It resonates because [parents] think the schools aren't educating their kids." Dole has responded to this anxiety by proposing school vouchers, now reborn as "opportunity scholarships." Though conservative intellectuals have increasing misgivings about vouchers, Norquist argues that school choice "is the most radical and most unifying issue for economic and social conservatives. . . . It divides the Democratic base from its leadership. It forces the Democrats to say that given a choice between poor black families that want to educate their children and

teachers' unions, we choose—teachers' unions. Without even thinking about it."

So Republican pollster Linda DiVall, a senior advisor to the Dole campaign, raised some eyebrows when she conducted a poll for the National Education Association suggesting that 61 per cent of *Republicans* opposed vouchers—and held a press conference on the subject the day before Dole gave his convention speech, which included a blast at the teachers' unions. Frank Luntz, a rival, dismisses her poll: "Baloney. That is absolutely not true. The NEA wants people to believe that. . . . If they paid me a million dollars, I'd tell them to go to Hell. This is so wrong. I'd never poll for them, and I would hope that no self-respecting Republican would poll for them." Miss DiVall is the most liberal Republican pollster—she recently did work that undermined congressional Republican environmental reforms—so it's not terribly surprising that she would do a poll proving that most Republicans are . . . Democrats! (She was also, oddly, part of the expensive grave-digging crew Sen. Phil Gramm hired for his presidential campaign.)

How to explain the opposition to vouchers that Miss DiVall uncovered? "At the national level the polling is very sensitive to wording," says Mrs. Bowman. The poll asked, "Do you think that tax dollars should be used to assist parents who send their children to private, parochial, or religious schools, or should tax dollars be spent to improve public schools?" That wording, says the Polling Company's

Thoughts Out of Season I

Lysander Spooner (1808-1887) was a Massachusetts lawyer and abolitionist.

WHEN a man says he is planting a tree for himself and his posterity, he does not mean to be understood as saying that he has any thought of compelling them, nor is it to be inferred that he has any thought of compelling them, nor is it to be inferred that he is such a simpleton as to imagine that he has any right or power to compel them, to eat the fruit. So far as they are concerned, he only means to say that his hopes and motives, in planting the tree, are that its fruit may be agreeable to them.

So it was with those who originally adopted the Constitution. Whatever may have been their personal intentions, the legal meaning of their language, so far as their "posterity" was concerned, simply was, that their hopes and motives, in entering into the agreement, were that it might prove useful and acceptable to their posterity; that it might promote their union, safety, tranquillity, and welfare; and that it might tend "to secure to them the blessings of liberty." The language does not assert nor at all imply, any right, power, or disposition, on the part of the original parties to the agreement, to compel their "posterity" to live under it. If they had intended to bind their posterity to live under it, they should have said that their object was, not "to secure to them the blessings of liberty," but to make slaves of them; for if their "posterity" are bound to live under it, they are nothing less than the slaves of their foolish, tyrannical, and dead grandfathers.

—LYSANDER SPOONER

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Ed Miller, frames the issue as a sop to special interests. When Jeanne Allen's Center for Education Reform did a poll asking if poor parents should be allowed to use the tax

*Ignoring the preference issue could
turn out to be a political mistake rivaling
the decision to take on Medicare's
runaway growth without holding
the White House*

dollars allotted for their child's education on "a private, public, or religious school of their choosing," more than 70 per cent of respondents said yes.

Republicans do, however, have real vulnerabilities on education policy. The public still believes that more money results in better schools. And Frank Luntz worries that when Republicans attack "teachers' unions," the public hears the first word but not the second. "The NEA is singularly the most destructive union in the country and . . . Republicans will not achieve a permanent majority until they destroy the NEA. . . . But we will not convince swing voters of that by November." Vouchers were defeated handily when they were on the California ballot in 1993; proponents were massively outspent and unable to counter the argument that "David Koresh schools" would spring up. In addition, all radical reforms face the obstacle of suburban

complacency. Whatever they think of the education system as a whole, middle-class parents think their own kids' schools are just fine, thank you. (It would be hard for them to live with themselves otherwise.) These concerns, however, only come into play during campaigns for ballot initiatives. In candidate campaigns, says Miss Fitzpatrick, middle-class voters just need to be reassured that vouchers won't require tax increases or redistribute money away from them.

State-sponsored discrimination. Affirmative action has been the dog that didn't bark in this campaign. In the early days of the Republican Congress and the California Civil Rights Initiative, it was widely assumed that the days of race and gender preferences were numbered. But congressional Republicans dropped the issue, and the Dole campaign hasn't picked it up. Republican politicians aren't comfortable addressing the issue, and fear its "volatility." They especially worry about alienating suburban women.

Ignoring the preference issue could turn out to be a political mistake rivaling the decision to take on Medicare's runaway growth without holding the White House. "When you're in the 30s in public opinion you need to focus on issues that have 70 per cent approval," says Luntz. "This is one of them. Soccer moms may not be that keen on [abolishing preferences] but football dads demand it. And right now we're only tied among football dads." Suburban women are indeed a key constituency: Miller points out that their votes resulted in the only important Democratic electoral victory in the last two years—Oregon's election of Ron Wyden to the U.S. Senate. But it was education funding and environmental protection, not affirmative action (or,

for that matter, abortion), which swayed them. Meanwhile, opposition to preferences is "a great way to go after Perot voters," Miller says. Norquist's analysis is characteristically acute: "The Left always tells you to stay away from issues that terrify them. Just like they used to tell us, Don't campaign in the South, that wouldn't be fair."

Americans are so politically disengaged right now that it's hard to rank the issues that command their attention. But these four—taxes, guns, education, and race preferences—suggest that conservatism's latent strength among the populace is much greater than the Republican Party's current fortunes might suggest. If Bill Clinton is re-elected, the very nature of his campaign ensures that he will have no mandate to buck the conservative tide. The potential for future conservative political success will still be out there, waiting for the right coalition—and the right candidate. □

Thoughts Out of Season II

George Fitzhugh (1806-1881) was a Virginia lawyer and a supporter of slavery.

WE do not agree with the authors of the Declaration of Independence, that governments "derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." All governments must originate in force, and be continued by force. The very term, government, implies that it is carried on against the consent of the governed. Fathers do not derive their authority, as heads of families, from the consent of wife and children, nor do they govern their families by their consent. They never take the vote of the family as to the labors to be performed, the moneys to be expended, or as to anything else. Masters dare not take the vote of slaves as to their government. If they did, constant holiday, dissipation, and extravagance would be the result. Captains of ships are not appointed by the consent of the crew, and never take their vote, even in "doubling Cape Horn." If they did, the crew would generally vote to get drunk, and the ship would never weather the cape. Not even in the most democratic countries are soldiers governed by their consent, nor is their vote taken on the eve of battle. They have some how lost (or never had) the "inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and, whether Americans or Russians, are forced into battle without and often against their consent. More of despotic discretion, and less of Law, is what the world wants.

—GEORGE FITZHUGH

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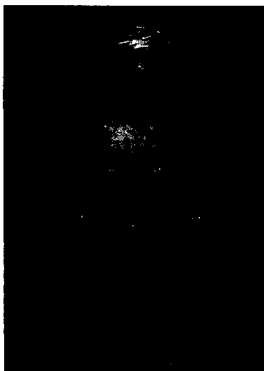
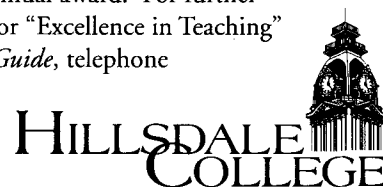
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The Pool Shark

RICHARD BROOKHISER

CONSERVATIVES hold the key to understanding Bill Clinton, but they mostly look for it in the wrong places.

One wrong place is Clinton the Monster, the philanderer and crook (and that's just what his kindest critics say of him). If you want details, consult the *New York Times* best-seller list, which has been featuring Clintonian books of vices for months. They appear under Non-Fiction, which is generally correct. But as a definition of the man, and the candidate, the scandal label misses the mark. At the most practical level, no serious charge will be brought, much less proven, against the President before Election Day. Even if all the speculations were true (Mena airport, Vince Foster, the works), they would not be the worst derelictions of a modern American statesman. Stealing the 1960 election was a more serious public offense—if that is what John Kennedy did. Finally, the Clinton scandals are not coterminous with the man, any more than Watergate equaled Richard Nixon.

If Clinton is not defined by Arkansas land deeds, neither is he defined by thirty-year-old love beads. Foes of Clinton as a Sixties re-tread, and of the Sixties generally, are as attached to the period as David Dellinger, getting arrested at his second Chicago convention at the age of 81. For good or ill, they all want the decade to live forever. The Sixties cast a powerful spell, and the young Bill Clinton did a number of things, some ludicrous, some shameful, under its influence. But time moves on; so has he.

One of the least attractive features of baby-boomers thirty years ago was their cocksureness, and this is more relevant to Bill Clinton because he presides over an Administration of know-it-alls. Is he one himself? He talks a good game, and he loves to talk. But the brimstone whiff of pride is not there. In the crunch, he often blinks or buckles. A captain of his soul should be sturdier.

The best way into Bill Clinton—the conservative's way—is to compare him with Ronald Reagan: not as an ideological figure, but as a personality. It is one reason Clinton, coming out of Chicago, had a lead in the polls about as big as Reagan had coming out of Dallas in 1984.

The resemblance is clearest in their campaigning. Reagan

was a better speechmaker, obviously. But working a crowd, or one on one, the two men converge. Talking to Clinton, like talking to Reagan, is to experience a quality of attention that is like stepping in front of a headlight. One minute you're in the crowd, outside the beam; then, he turns to you, and it locks on. Bush and Carter were too diffident, and too awkward, to produce such an effect. Nixon and Johnson worked hard, but no one ever called *them* love bombers. With Reagan and Clinton, for the time you have their regard, however brief, you seem to have it all.

One reason surely is that they are both sons of drunkards. The alcoholism of Roger Clinton, Bill's stepfather, and the family traumas it caused—the rages, the blows, the final confrontation when Bill had become a teenager big enough to lay down the law—are a prominent part of the Clinton biography. Clinton's 12-step frankness about his past was one of the things that made Joe Klein fall in love with him, back before Klein had become Anonymous, and when Gov. Clinton still was. Reagan never pushed his father Jack's drunkenness front and center, but he did write about it in the opening pages of his 1965 memoir, *Where's the Rest of Me?*, in a story that is like one of the grim scenes in *It's a Wonderful Life*. One night when Jack came home drunk, he collapsed on the porch, "dead to the world . . . his hair soaked with melting snow." Young Ron had to pull him inside. "I could feel no resentment," the older Reagan added, characteristically. He must have felt resentful; he *chose* not to (the note of Reagan optimism).

Children of alcoholics develop early warning systems of sensitivity. When the prospects for quiet and love, or distress and misery, can be signaled by a turn in a parent's manner, a slur in his speech, kids make it their business to be attentive. They apply this skill, unconsciously and automatically, to other people (who knows when they might go off like bombs?). This sense can accompany the whole range of personality types—depressed, detached, self-possessed. But when a child with an alcoholic parent has any capacity or desire to be genial, his human antennae make him unusually good at it.

Even this shared aspect of Reagan's and Clinton's lives shows great differences. Roger Clinton was violent; Jack Reagan was not. Nelle Reagan was a steady presence for her son. Virginia Kelley, Bill Clinton's mother, had likable qualities, but steadiness was not one of them (five marriages, two to Roger). Reagan and Clinton can both make near-instantaneous contact with people. Clinton has a stronger need to get a positive reaction from them. When he had to, Ronald Reagan could serenely shrug off Tip O'Neill, Sam Donaldson, Communism. Bill Clinton stays entangled.

Clinton's skill at pleasing and his desire to please inform



Mr. Brookhiser is an NR senior editor.

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his performance as a public man. "What energizes Bill Clinton is going out and meeting with the American people," Al Gore said in Chicago of Clinton's pre-convention train trip. Right he was. Off the campaign trail, Clinton is still the pleaser, hearing people out, adjusting his course among a multitude that he wants to leave smiling. "He's the most adept of bank-shot artists I've ever seen," said Jesse Jackson, comparing his political maneuvers to a game of pool. Don't complain, Reverend. You're one of the balls, and Bill Clinton wants to hit them all.

SUCH a persona appeals to a nation that is prosperous and at peace (a weak recovery is still a recovery, and unpleasantness with Iraq is not a war, especially not the way Clinton wages it). It appeals to a public which has become more and more like the audience of a daytime talk show—pseudo-therapeutic, effeminate rather than feminine. When George Bush promised to be kinder and gentler, he had little idea what a bidding war he had opened up. Though, in fairness, his two predecessors, Reagan and Carter, led with their smiles (Reagan's worked, Carter's didn't). The future may see more stylistic similarity among the Presidents of the last twenty years than we now imagine.

Apart from casual strangers—all those people at whistle-stops—Clinton must address himself from now until Election Day to three audiences. The first is the electorate as a whole. In politics re-election is the basic sign of love. Clinton labors for it with an intensity unusual even in this profession. Dick Morris's fall from grace, and the right-leaning values strategy he had put in place before he departed, have bewitched the pundit class. Clinton has been working with Morris—and periodically tacking to the right—since 1978, but Morris was no Svengali. If he had never existed, Clinton would have looked for someone similar. Clinton has needed to make feints to his right, because he has been running in broadly conservative electorates all his life—Arkansas, and America. To win their all-important approval, he will execute murderers or plug V-chips.

A second audience is the people he associates with—his advisors and his staff. This group is seasoned with the occasional free lance—Morris, or David Gergen. But since Clinton is a Democrat, these people tend to be liberals (one of them is his wife). Beyond them is the liberal core of his party. Morris's buzzword was "triangulation"—putting Clinton between, and above, the Democrats and the Republicans in Congress. But the liberals are still one point of the triangle. If Clinton had ever been as out of sync with them as Connecticut Senator Joseph Lieberman, or former Pennsylvania Governor Bill Casey, he would never have won a Democratic presidential nomination. On some issues, he has never strayed. Clinton could adapt Pat Buchanan's formula: the day his party ceases to be pro-abortion, that day it ceases to be his party.

The third audience is posterity. Clinton says he wants to build a bridge to the future; he also wants to build a bridge to the history books. Every President does. He is likely to

try a big gesture, like the health-care program of the first (pre-Morris) half of his first term. This time, Mrs. Clinton probably won't be in charge. But there is no lack of mischief makers to take her place. The most obvious target is education. Clinton said he wanted all eight-year-olds reading by 2000 (that will boost Maya Angelou's sales). Expect a Super-Goals 2000: federal money, federal standards, federal control. All the conservatives who bellyached for national standards will find their prayers answered, the way the Delphic Oracle used to answer prayers. Health-care might even come back again; Kennedy-Kassebaum is being spoken of as a first step.

The rhetorical wedge for other efforts will be children. Children have become the Democrats' all-purpose justification. "Ten million *children*," said Clinton in Chicago, "live within four miles of a toxic waste dump. . . . Not one Russian nuclear missile is pointed at our *children* [emphasis added]." Does that mean it's all right for adults to eat chemicals and get blown up? If the Democrats are so concerned about children, why can't they stop Al Gore from abusing younger members of his family in his convention speeches? Four years ago it was his son; this time, it was his late sister.

These three audiences—the voters, the Left, the ages—are the real triangle of Clinton's career. Where is he on the triangle? Nowhere. An off-stage grin, watching for the grins he hopes will appear on the faces before him. Clinton is a youngish man. If he wins, he might do something truly dramatic at the end of his term, and imitate John Quincy Adams, by running for Congress. If he loses, he might follow Grover Cleveland, bide his time, and try again. Always assuming the scandal-mongers have not correctly judged him, and he stays out of the slammer. We may be watching Bill Clinton playing to audiences for a long while yet. □

Faith in Numbers

MICHAEL BARONE

IF YOU want to know whom the voters are for, ask what they believe—believe, that is, in the religious sense of belief. For nothing—not economic status, not region, not even race—divides American voters as starkly as their religious beliefs. You need only look at the exit polls to see. In the 1992 Clinton vote there was a 5-point gender gap, a 2-point gap between North and South, a 9-point gap between age groups, a 23-point gap between the top and bottom income groups, and a 43-point gap between blacks and whites. But Jews voted 78 to 12 for Clinton while white born-again Christians voted 61 to 23 for Bush: a 55-point gap. Similarly, in 1994, Republican percentages differed by 23 points by income groups, 48 points by race, and 53 per cent by religion. Americans are often uncomfortable with the thought that politics divides them along religious

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lines. But it is entirely natural that in a country where political debates are more often cultural than economic, political divisions should run along lines of our deepest beliefs.

But those beliefs are not the ones we grew up with. Nearly forty years ago Will Herberg described an America that was, in his book's title, *Protestant-Catholic-Jew*. These three faiths were not of course equal in numbers. More than half of Americans were Protestant, a quarter were Catholic, and perhaps 3 per cent Jewish (though in the 1930s and 1940s Jews accounted for as much as 5 per cent of all voters, more than blacks at that time). But one of Herberg's points was that we were no longer a basically Protestant country, and indeed in the year his book appeared Americans elected the first Catholic President.

Today Herberg's three-faith formula no longer describes the major categories of religious belief. Instead we have four major religious groupings, of approximately equal size, each politically distinct. Protestants have split into two groups, Mainline Protestants, in the numerically declining old denominations, with low intensity of belief, and Evangelical Protestants, in new and rapidly growing denominations and churches, with strong intensity of belief. Labels and definitions are a problem here, but as Potter Stewart said of pornography and might have said of the difference between his native Episcopalianism and the Protestantism of the Christian Coalition, I know it when I see it. Each of these two groups of Protestants makes up about one-quarter of the electorate.

Another quarter is made up of Catholics, who are now a larger percentage of Americans than they were in 1960 when John Kennedy was elected. Catholics were a monolithic group then, voting 78 per cent for Kennedy, according to Gallup (white Protestants were 63 per cent for Richard Nixon), and, with their large families and bursting parishes, visibly obeying the Church's prohibitions on birth control and divorce, requirement of weekly Mass, and encouragement of vocations. But at just about the time Kennedy was elected and Pope John XXIII convened the Vatican Council, these distinctive behaviors started to vanish, and Catholics today, on average, are not very different from everyone else. That "average," however, masks a real divide among Catholics, with about half still observant and culturally conservative and the other half relatively secular and open to cultural liberalism.

The fourth American religious group today is even more various: Others. It includes Jews and Moslems, Hindus and Sikhs and Jains. It includes those who identify themselves as

secular or having no religion: a group in most polls now larger than Jews, and similar in political behavior.

How do each of these four groups vote? The table is adapted from the 1992 and 1994 exit polls. What emerges is a portrait of a politico-religious nation very different from that of 1960 and even 1980. Evangelical Protestants, now the base of the Republican Party, were a much smaller and less assertive percentage of the electorate, Democratic generally because they were disproportionately white Southerners or blacks, but variously so—not so much in 1960, when the Democratic nominee was a Roman Catholic, very much so in 1976, when the nominee proclaimed himself a born-again Christian. Others, now the base of the Democratic Party, were also a much smaller and less assertive percentage of the electorate. They were swing voters in national politics, attracted to literate Democrats like

Adlai Stevenson and liberal Republicans like Jacob Javits. In the meantime the partisanship of Mainline Protestants and Catholics, which towered over the landscape of the 1960 election like the

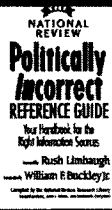
	1992			1994	
	BUSH	CLINTON	PEROT	REPUBLICANS	DEMOCRATS
All	37	43	19	51	48
Evangel. Prot.	55	29	15	73	26
Mainline Prot.	37	42	20	57	42
Catholic	36	44	20	51	48
Others	26	63	10	26	73

jagged peaks of the Rockies over the Great Plains, has been worn down over the years like the Appalachians by the shifting winds of issues and equivocal feelings engendered by the new issues raised by Evangelical Protestants and Others.

Look now at this year's election through the prism of these groups. Start with Evangelical Protestants, who, according to a *U.S. News* survey conducted July 21 to 23, were split evenly between Dole and Clinton in both two- and three-way contests. This was obviously disastrous for Dole, and it strongly appears that he made significant gains among this group at the San Diego convention: consolidating the base. Unlike George Bush in 1992, he did it not by supplying hot convention rhetoric from the likes of Pat Buchanan but by avoiding controversy by propitiating conservative activists with a conservative platform and a pro-life running-mate and by projecting his own tax cut. And he began the search, which is still on, for a cultural issue capable of energizing the base while massaging the majority (candidates include teenage drug use, racial quotas, English as the official language, tougher judges). He depicted his traditional values as growing not out of angry ideological manifestoes but out of the hard-working everyday Great Plains where he grew up.

Presenting himself in this way probably helped him with Mainline Protestants, who were turned off by the Houston convention (or, more accurately, by the media portrayal of the Houston convention). These are Protestants who believe far less in traditional mores and hard-and-fast rules, and as voters they value a calm, tranquil atmosphere and resent what they consider negative campaigning. Having left strict rules behind, they don't like to see politicians

Mr. Barone is Senior Writer, U.S. News & World Report, and co-author, The Almanac of American Politics. This article is based partly on an article that appeared in U.S. News and on a U.S. News poll conducted by the Tarrance Group and Lake Research.



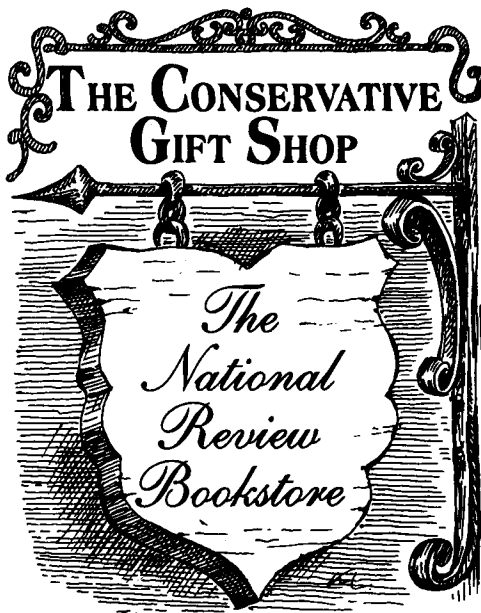
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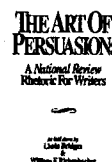
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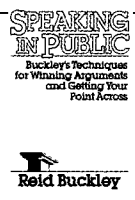
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attacked for breaking them. It is to them that the Clinton campaign is appealing when it calls for an end to character attacks (a natural stand for a candidate with character problems). Bush did not carry this, his native group, in 1992, and Dole still lagged behind in July. The generally upbeat tones of the Dole-Kemp and the Clinton-Gore campaigns seem aimed particularly at this group.

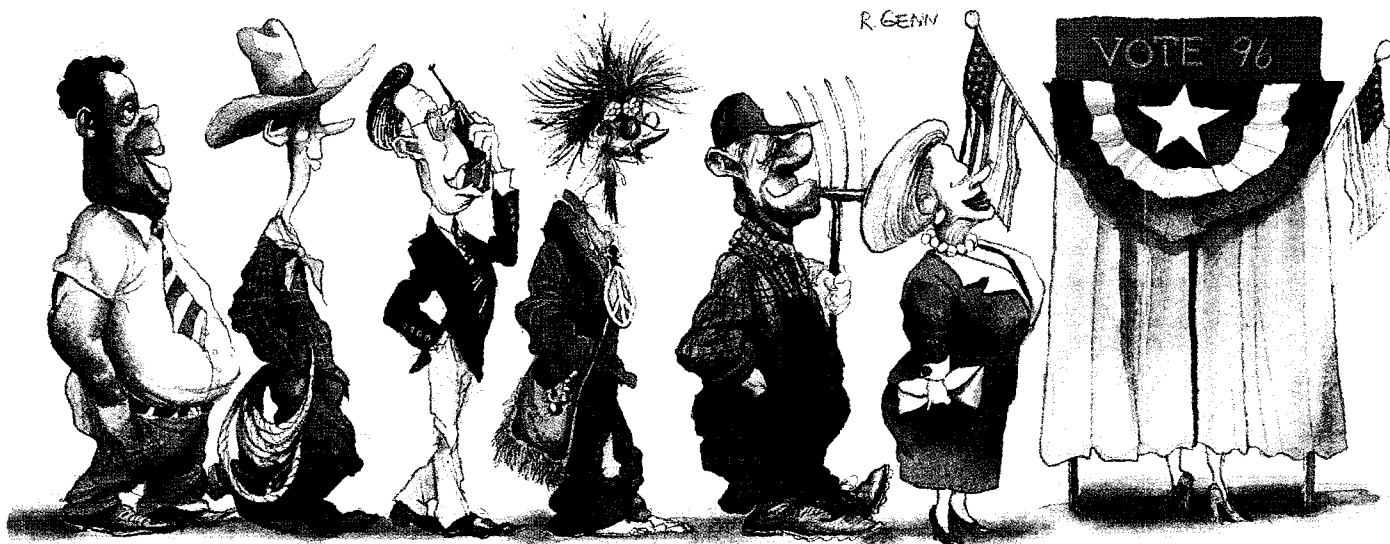
THE media still sometimes speak of Catholic voters as if they were all anti-abortion; about half of them are indifferent if not hostile to Church teachings on abortion and other issues. But there still remains a core of Catholics, older perhaps, more tradition-minded, some of whose votes may turn on Clinton's veto of the partial-birth-abortion ban. But a more important thing may be the apparent tendency of Catholics—like others whose full Americanness has been under challenge within living memory—to rally disproportionately to the side of an incumbent President when times are reasonably good and peace seems at hand. Thus Catholics gave Lyndon Johnson in 1964 the same extraordinary support they gave John Kennedy in 1960; thus they swung away from Hubert Humphrey in 1968, after all the tumult, in far smaller numbers than Southern white Protestants; thus they cast majorities for Richard Nixon in 1972 as they had for Dwight Eisenhower in 1956 and would for Ronald Reagan in 1984.

In the July *U.S. News* poll, and in other surveys as well, Dole is running especially far behind winning Republican showings (Bush 1988, House candidates 1994) among Catholics. His convention featured speakers calculated to impress with their patriotism (Colin Powell) and to connect with younger, more secular Northeasterners (Susan Molinari). But his strategists' real hope is that the Dole-Kemp tax cut would eventually turn Catholics around. Most Catholics live in high-tax states and voted in 1993 and 1994 for Republican governors who have cut tax levels somewhat; Dole's advisors hope his similar promise will overcome the Clinton leads which seem to be generated by

Catholics' stick-with-a-winner philosophy. But that will happen, if it does, only late in the game, just as the anti-tax challengers John Engler and Christie Whitman came from behind only in late October in Michigan in 1990 and New Jersey in 1993.

Although the Others category includes some very religious members of diverse sects, it is mostly made up of non-believers, voters who feel more comfortable with situational ethics than with just-say-no rules. This is the Democratic core group, 3 to 1 Democratic even in the congressional elections of 1994; Dole in July was winning fewer than one-third of these votes and probably cannot do much better. He would be well advised to ignore the counsel of the media—who are mostly Others and often seem to imagine that their attitudes are typical of all Americans—to try to propitiate this group.

Our two-party system makes it seem easy to amass a national majority; actually in this diverse country it is an unnatural thing. Even if Ross Perot, like most other third-party candidates (John Anderson, George Wallace, Henry Wallace), sees half this support evaporate in late October, it is possible that this year's victor will win less than 50 per cent of the vote. George Bush proved in 1992 that you can win over Evangelical Protestants in a way that turns off Mainline Protestants and leaves Catholics nonplused; Michael Dukakis proved in 1988 that you can win over Others (his support among them climbed in October) by flaunting a cultural liberalism (he proclaimed himself a "card-carrying member of the ACLU" and for 11 years opposed changes in Massachusetts's crazy furlough law) that turns off Catholics and leaves Mainline Protestants nonplused. Bill Clinton learned from Dukakis's mistakes; Dole is trying to learn from Bush's. The bottom line is that in a country split about evenly in party identification, and which on most major cultural and economic issues comes out more right than left, each party has a chance of winning, but only if it pays sensitive attention to the deep beliefs of at least three of these four same-sized religious blocs. □



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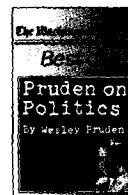
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The Peculiar Institution

Preferential affirmative action is a grave affront to American principles of justice. It is a moral and political imperative that the Republican Party should vociferously oppose it.

JOHN O. MCGINNIS

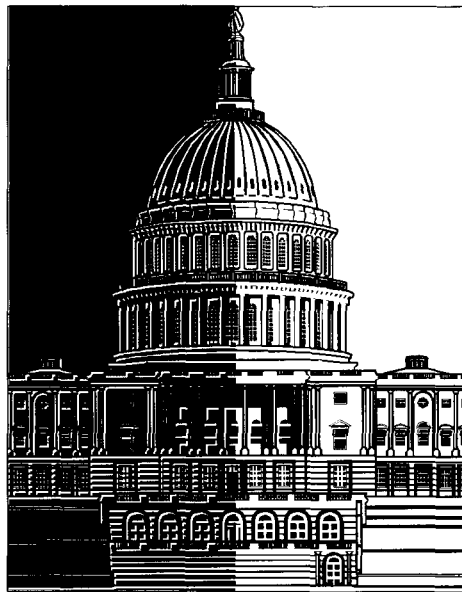
AT CRUCIAL junctures in American history political, moral, and tactical considerations combine to require a political party to raise an issue to the forefront of its election campaign. Opposition to slavery—the issue that gave birth to the Republican Party—is the pre-eminent example. Tactically, opposing slavery split the Democratic Party in two by separating Northern laborers from Southern planters and their retainers. Politically, the issue captured the essence of what America had stood for since the founding—liberty and union. And ending slavery was the greatest moral imperative of American history and one of the most important benchmarks in the progress of civilization.

In the period following World War II sustained opposition to Communism performed the same function for Republicans as opposition to slavery did in the period leading up to the Civil War. By arguing continually for fierce resistance to Soviet expansionism, Republicans once again split the Democratic Party, separating this time blue-collar workers from the New Class—academics, members of the media, public-service bureaucrats—many of whom were Laodiceans when it came to supporting the American creed against the Communist threat. Like slavery before it, this issue recapitulated for its time the political values on which the country was founded. The connection between economic and civil liberties was underscored by the brutal suppression of all these liberties by totalitarian regimes. Opposition to Communism again brought the value of

union into bold relief. This time the unity was not geographic but economic, because Communism ironically showed that the classes which its dogma held to be irreconcilable actually had a common interest in an indivisible liberty. And like the struggle against slavery, the unyielding struggle against totalitarianism was the most important and successful moral crusade of its time, liberating millions of oppressed people.

Opposition to racial, ethnic, and gender preferences in all their overt and covert forms is a similar moral, political, and tactical imperative for the Republican Party of today. Let us begin unapologetically with tactics. Democrats accuse Republicans of using affirmative action as a wedge issue against them, as if this were legitimate grounds of complaint. But in politics, tactics is always a proper consideration. Slavery and Communism were wedge issues of their day. And as Abraham Lincoln himself recognized, the right timing is necessary for even the most just cause to prevail.

The first reason the Democrats fear opposition to preferences is that, like those past wedge issues, it divides *their* party. The important division it would foster is *not* one between blacks and whites: majorities of all major ethnic groups oppose affirmative action. Instead it would once again divide the productive sectors of society—small-business owners and productive workers in businesses large and small—from today's newest unproductive class—those whose income derives directly or indirectly from the regime of ethnic and gender sorting that these preferences have established. This latter group includes many academics, lawyers, public-sector-workers, and those within corporations responsible for managing affirmative action.



Mr. McGinnis teaches at the Cardozo Law School of Yeshiva University in New York.

Darkness reigned. For although the deeds of the man known as Reagan had brought labor and plenty for the multitudes, his enemies fell to envy. And the liberal politicians swore oaths and cast aspersions on his deeds, and plotted revenge. And liberal economists sowed lies and deceptions among the multitudes. And the multitudes were confused.

But there came forth light from the pages of the magazine known as *National Review*, beloved by many for its wisdom. And the light which it brought forth blinded the legions of deception, and shone on the truth of the decade known as the Eighties. And bearing witness to the truth was the man known as Edwin S. Rubenstein, the Economics Analyst of *National Review*, who smote the liberal lies in his column "Right Data." And bearing further witness to the truth was "The Real Reagan Record," which was brought forth to much acclaim, but for the evildoers, who cursed it, and which set right the deeds of the man known as Reagan. And the editors of the magazine known as *National Review* saw the multitudes hunger for the economic truth on taxation, welfare, health care, income distribution, the deficit, federal spending, government regulations, and more. And they saw the multitudes yearning for deliverance from the economic deceptions that fell from the mouths of liberals.

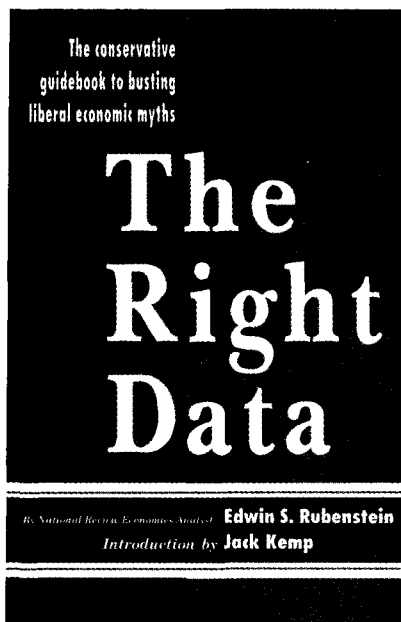
And the editors of the magazine known as *National Review* gathered up all the works of the man known as Rubenstein, and had him

collect hundreds of charts and graphs that spoke with clarity on the many issues on which the multitudes yearned for truth. And the man known as Rubenstein did thus, and he called his charts and graphs "Raw Data." And to these things was joined "The Real Reagan Record."

And the editors of the magazine known as *National Review* brought forth these things as a book, which measured over 400 pages, unto which the man known as Jack Kemp, the one detested by the tax collectors, offered an Introduction. And it was pleasing to the eye, and the laymen rejoiced because its words of truth were easy to understand and smote the wicked economic distortions of the liberals. And they called the book *The Right Data*, and they sold it for \$14.95, which was a savings of \$3.00 off the cover price. And the multitudes declared the book affordable. And the critics sung its praises. And the editors of the magazine known as *National Review* proclaimed it to be a wonderful gift idea, which *The Right Data* is. And the liberal economists, the politicians, and the tax collectors hurled epithets and plucked

at their beards and ground their teeth as they cursed the light that emanated from *The Right Data*. But the light reigned.

And those with wisdom will be not sore afraid but will act with haste and use the form below and order *The Right Data*. For Lo! they will rejoice in its truth and marvel at its wondrous deeds.



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Second, affirmative action is one of a very few issues that President Clinton cannot finesse. For most issues that favor Republicans, like welfare reform and crime, Mr. Clinton has consciously blurred the differences by retreating toward the Republican position. He has just signed a welfare-reform bill that is radical by the standards of the Democratic and Republican consensus of even five years ago. He has signed fairly far-ranging reform of habeas corpus, which will at least in some measure mitigate the mockery that the expansion of this writ has made of finality in criminal justice.

Nevertheless, on affirmative action Clinton cannot move. He has publicly pledged to "mend it, not end it" and has in fact retained almost every preference program in federal contracts and employment. His pledge and his inaction are the price of retaining the support of the civil-rights establishment and the left wing of the Democratic Party. The Piscataway case also makes it impossible for Clinton to

confuse the public about his position. There his Administration attempted to argue that the Constitution permitted a public school to lay off a white teacher rather than a black teacher solely because of her race.

Moreover, on most other issues Clinton can obscure any remaining differences by sleight of hand or outright lying. For instance, even though his crime proposals are weaker than the Republicans', as a master of rhetoric he is able to portray them as pretty strong. On the other hand, if the Republicans handle affirmative action as they should, it will be impossible for the President to wiggle out of his position on the issue. First, the starkness of the moral position Republicans should embrace—that it is necessary to end all race and gender preferences immediately and everywhere—would be impervious to whatever muddled counter-Clinton's strategists managed to put together. Second, it has finally begun to seep into the consciousness of the American public that the defense of affirmative action has

Principled Opposition

REPUBLICANS have a problem with race. And despite the political hyperbole, the problem is fundamentally not, as Democrats would have the nation believe, a function of insensitivity, political opportunism, or latent bigotry. Indeed, most Republicans—and most Americans, generally—have a coherent, intellectually sound view of race relations in America. It is a view that proceeds from the principle that racial discrimination in all its forms is wrong, and that, in particular, governments ought not make distinctions among citizens based upon race. The Republicans' race problem, then, stems not from a lack of principle, but rather from a lack of moral and political confidence in the principle.

Notwithstanding its honest and popular approach to race policy, the GOP cannot seem to shake the public perception that cynicism drives its initiatives on the subject. Republicans eager to point a finger of blame need look no further than the leadership of their own party. For a number of historical and political reasons, the Republican hierarchy is insecure about its racial image.

Mr. Jones is president of the Center for New Black Leadership and a contributor to MSNBC cable news network.

Conservatives are rightly determined to demonstrate their sincere commitment to "civil rights" for Americans of all races. Their problem, however, stems from a fundamental misapprehension of the distinction between civil rights and empowerment policies on the one hand, and racial preferences on the other. As a result of that misapprehension, Republicans have proved themselves curiously timid in pursuing their largely instinctive opposition to preferential policies.

This GOP skittishness about racial preferences is not new. Even during the halcyon days of the Reagan Administration, pitched battles over the issue were waged *among* Republicans. The Bush Administration, too, despite ample opportunity, declined to rid the nation of preferential policies. In 1989, the U.S. Supreme Court issued a series of rulings that would have eased private efforts to curtail the usage of racial preferences. The response on Capitol Hill was to draft the Civil Rights Act of 1990, which in effect would, among other things, have overturned the Supreme Court's 1989 decisions. President Bush initially objected, calling the proposed Act a "quota bill." Not one year later, however, Bush signed the Civil Rights Act of 1991, which was substantially indistinguishable from the

"quota bill" he had months before decided.

Bush's turnabout was in part a response to an earlier brush with principle within his Administration. Michael Williams, Assistant Secretary of Education for Civil Rights, had issued a tentative ruling that race-based college scholarships violate Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, a provision that outlaws racial discrimination by institutions receiving federal funds. Despite Williams's sound legal argument, the Administration backed away from his ruling in the face of yelps from old-line civil-rights leaders. Never mind that a great many conservative believers in civil rights—many of them, including Williams, being black—in and around the Administration had urged relentless pursuit of the anti-discrimination principle. Republican leaders were more interested in shielding themselves and the party against criticism from the nation's liberal civil-rights leaders.

More recent events suggest that many Republicans' defensive impulse on racial matters has not abated. In July 1995, then Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole convened a meeting of conservative civil-rights leaders to help him develop a strategy for introducing legislation that would ban the use of racial and gender preferences within the Federal Government. In that meeting, Dole spoke with stunning conviction about the moral imperative of holding government to a strict standard of nondiscrimination. The legislative result of that conviction was the introduction by Dole

always rested on lies. Universities claimed to be taking race into account in admissions decisions only marginally and only as one of many factors, whereas in reality, as the recent *Hopwood* case demonstrated, they were often using completely different cutoff scores for different racial and ethnic groups. Until stopped by force of law, the Labor Department fostered a practice known as "race norming," in which the scores of minority candidates were changed to assure that the mix of individuals referred to employers was racially representative, while employers were kept unaware of the test tampering. The public is also beginning to see through the changing euphemisms (from "affirmative action" to "diversity") which have been used to cloak these preferences.

Against this background, it would be difficult for the President to peddle the usual prevarications used to support preferences. When he tries, it will only reinforce his own widely known tendency toward prevarication. "Mend-

ing affirmative action" should become the 1996 equivalent of "not inhaling" and much more damaging, because it will catch Clinton in lies about an issue of enormous policy importance rather than a youthful personal failing.

Opposition to preferences also captures the political essence of liberty and union in our day, as opposition to slavery and to Communism did in theirs. Preferences are today one of the most constant reminders individuals have of the dangers of big government. From busing to employment, government sorts individuals by groups. Through the structure of its affirmative-action regulations it encourages private businesses and educational institutions to do the same. This affects millions of Americans. Moreover, the apparatus necessary to conduct this sorting—bureaucracies within the government and compliance offices within corporations—is a matchless example of the officious busybodies that big government creates.

Second, preferences create permanent status classes in

and Rep. Charles Canady of the Equal Opportunity Act.

Passage of the Equal Opportunity Act however, is today in doubt, not primarily because of the opposition of Democrats, but rather because of the hesitation of some Republicans. At the Dole meeting in July, for example, one prominent Republican House member, urging Dole not to introduce the Act, stated that if forced to vote he would "do the right thing," but that he feared Dole's bill would detract from Republican efforts to pass low-income empowerment legislation. There was not a hint of resolve to argue to the electorate the very real distinction between empowerment strategies and the affirmative-action status quo.

WHILE the Republican House members' plea went unheeded last July, the last 12 months have witnessed considerably diminished enthusiasm for the elimination of racial preferences maintained by government. Earlier this year, Republican leaders on Capitol Hill announced that there would not be a vote on Dole's Equal Opportunity Act in the 104th Congress. At the time, however, anti-preference activists were assured that there would be a scaled-down reform of the preferential status quo, with a vote on ending the Small Business Administration's practice of using racial and gender preferences in awarding government contracts. But even that modest effort appears to have fallen by the wayside, an apparent vic-

tim of the House leadership's ambivalence about the issue.

Even Dole himself, campaigning in California, has all but ignored the California Civil Rights Initiative, a revolutionary ballot measure that would forbid the use of racial preferences in state contracting and hiring, and in admissions decisions at the state's public universities. Public-opinion polls in the state suggest that a vast majority of Californians support the initiative, including large numbers of blacks, Latinos, and Asian-Americans. Nevertheless, many Republican honchos fear the wrath of a civil-rights establishment scorned. While Dole continues, to his credit, to voice his opposition to preferences when asked, and his running mate Jack Kemp appears to have cooled his sometimes patronizing scolding of anti-preference conservatives, they and other Republican leaders have shown little resolve to *do* anything about the status quo. But why, and at what cost?

Republicans' sensitivity to how their race policy is perceived by Americans of good will is, to be sure, an admirable impulse, to the extent that it reflects an embrace of the notion that Americans of every race can be persuaded to share common interests and aspirations. It also speaks well of the GOP in so far as it represents a sincere acknowledgment that in dispossessed pockets of the nation there are individuals living in circumstances that beg civic attention. What the party's race-skittish leaders fail to appreciate, however, is that racial-preference policies rarely serve either of

those noble notions. Racial-preference policies in America today are discriminatory, divisive, and tend to benefit the least disadvantaged members of preferred groups.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, party leaders' reluctance to stand firm for the nondiscrimination principle exposes their more resolute colleagues to charges of cynicism and bigotry. And in the case of black leaders to whom Republicans turn for advice and support on such matters—leaders like Michael Williams and, more recently, Ward Connerly, chairman of the CCRI campaign—GOP turnabouts undermine their efforts to persuade open-minded blacks to support the party. When even conservatives appear willing, given sufficient public pressure, to accept the preferential status quo, they reinforce the perception that political calculation rather than honest conviction motivates critics of preferences. Black fellow travelers then are easily dismissed as Uncle Toms doing the bidding of conservative white cynics.

The arguments should be, and indeed the better ones are, more sophisticated than that. One need not, of course, embrace every anti-preference measure as perfect. Surely, none of them is. Nevertheless, the nondiscrimination principle is fundamental to the nation's future as the world's leading multiracial democracy. Republican leaders owe it to themselves, their allies, and the nation to stand tall for that principle, to argue its merits, to persuade, and to lead.

—BRIAN W. JONES

society. As such they are in keeping with the social vision of the Democratic Party from its support of slavery to its embrace of the welfare state: the party has always favored a society structured by status relations defined by the government. Therefore opposition to preferences throws into bold

As Antonin Scalia said in 1978: 'My father came to this country when he was a teenager. Not only had he never profited from the sweat of any black man's brow, I don't think he had ever seen a black man'

relief the substance of what Republicans favor—a society in which autonomous individuals shape their own status and position through the market and through institutions like churches and fraternal and civic organizations that are themselves created by the uncoerced efforts of citizens. Furthermore, opposition to preferences, if carefully explained, should help Republicans persuade the public of the merits of their opposition to other government intrusions into the labor market (such as the minimum wage) which are currently far more popular than preferences. It would also serve to highlight the Democrats' rejection of American ideals of free labor and spontaneous, decentralized social order. Such an approach to preferences should also protect Republicans from unfounded charges of hostility toward minorities; it shows that preferences are antithetical to a free society not because they are related to race and ethnicity but because they are paradigmatic of unjustified regulation by government fiat.

Today the unity of the nation is threatened less by differences of geography or class than by differences of ethnicity. Opposition to racial preferences thus encapsulates the principle of American union for the twenty-first century. Multi-ethnic democracy can be kept together by the market and other mediating institutions that have non-ethnic goals and purposes. The market promotes relations of mutual benefit that bridge ethnic divides, and mediating institutions slowly assimilate different ethnic groups into a network of shared ideals. In contrast, government distribution of benefits in employment and schooling by ethnicity is a recipe for conflict. Members of ethnic groups are given incentives to clash rather than share as they compete for these benefits. Under such a system, many political and civic leaders encourage ethnic self-identification rather than assimilation because groups sustained by government benefit become a crucial locus of their political power. An ethnic spoils system thus engenders per-

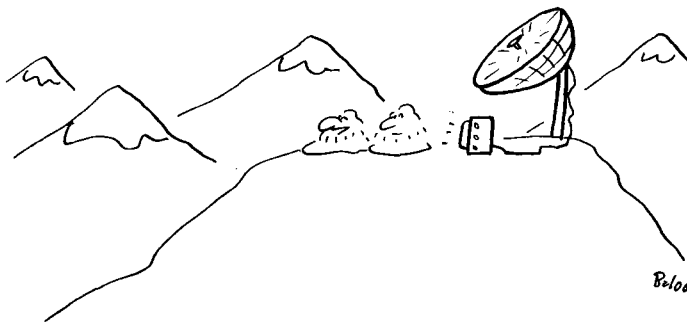
petual strife in a democratic republic and even threatens its dissolution.

The renewed definition of union that would be crystallized by opposition to preferences could then be used to address other pressing and difficult issues. For instance, immigration is also an issue of union. Just as the market and mediating institutions are crucial to tamping down ethnic conflict they also are the catalysts of assimilation among immigrants. But these institutions take time to work, and the rate and demographics of legal immigration must conform to their capacity for gathering newcomers into the American fold. Thus sensible steps to prevent too rapid an infusion of foreigners can be justified by reference to the same American ideals that motivate opposition to racial and ethnic preferences.

Finally and most importantly, the moral justification for opposition to preferences should be central to any campaign against them. The first reason why preferences are immoral is obvious and needs little reiteration. They are immoral because through them the government either injures or encourages others to injure individuals who are wholly innocent of any complicity in slavery or discrimination. As Antonin Scalia memorably said in 1978: "My father came to this country when he was a teenager. Not only had he never profited from the sweat of any black man's brow, I don't think he had ever seen a black man." Indeed, because the scope of the preferences has been extended to reach groups, such as blacks from the Caribbean and some Asians, that never suffered any substantial discrimination in this country, preferences are now often doubly unjust: they reward people who are not victims at the expense of others who did no wrong.

Proponents now argue that preferences are needed to ensure diversity within institutions, but this new mantra does not erase the fundamental injustice. Preferences required or encouraged by the government for reasons of diversity still penalize the non-preferred on the basis of skin color or country of origin—characteristics irrelevant to merit in almost every occupation. Moreover, while *individuals* are indeed diverse, to use race or ethnicity as a proxy, let alone the major proxy, for measuring their diversity is to indulge in the very stereotypes that in the past have led to legally sanctioned subordination and even bondage.

But the moral imperatives for opposition to preferences go beyond the self-evident. The apologia for racial preferences has generated more lies by intellectuals than any other cause since the defense of the Soviet Union. As noted above, the whole program of affirmative action has been cloaked in euphemisms and implemented by deception. As the euphemisms are penetrated and the deceptions are discovered, the social fabric is



"Quick! Cover the dish! Here comes the Dalai Lama."

frayed. Individuals can be lied to by their politicians and other leading citizens only so many times before they look on the whole social order with general disgust. The well-being of their children can be impaired by busing and other consequences of preferences only once or twice before necessary civic ideals such as generosity toward the poor and tolerance for others—ideals made possible by the past sacrifices of millions and internalized in each generation—begin to dissipate.

THE dissipation of civic goodwill is particularly dangerous at this time precisely because of the difficulties many members of minority groups still face. We need that goodwill to pursue solutions to these difficulties which have some prospect of success, such as spending more money on law enforcement in inner cities to tip the balance of power in favor of the hard-working citizen as against the predatory criminal. But that goodwill is threatened by divisive remedies that make victims of innocents and yet have no effect at all on the real problems of crime, family dissolution, and illegitimacy that disproportionately beset minority communities. Some argue that we must have other social programs in place before we dismantle affirmative action, but the reality is that affirmative-action programs are a roadblock to the establishment of other programs. At best, preferences encourage citizens to believe

that too great a sacrifice has already been required of them, and at worst they foster animosity toward the very groups they are designed to help.

What are the prospects that Republicans will take up this banner and go forth to conquer? There are discouraging signals. While Bob Dole has formally endorsed the California initiative to end racial, ethnic, and gender preferences in state employment and schooling decisions, he barely mentions the issue. The Republicans in Congress are no longer attempting to pass the quite limited Dole-Canady bill, which by ending preferences in federal contracting and employment would represent a modest step toward a color-blind society. Indeed, it is not even clear that Congress will end the notoriously corrupt Section 8(a) program of the Small Business Administration, in which agencies preferentially contract with companies supposedly owned by minorities and women, but in many of which the woman or minority member fronts for the real owner.

Nevertheless, conservatives should take every opportunity to insist on the political salience and moral centrality of opposition to preferences. Speaker Gingrich has made the ideals of liberty and union his life's study. Senator Dole almost died for them. When the need to end preferences is put in the context of renewing those ideals, we can entertain every hope that these worthy men will embrace the cause and carry it to victory. □

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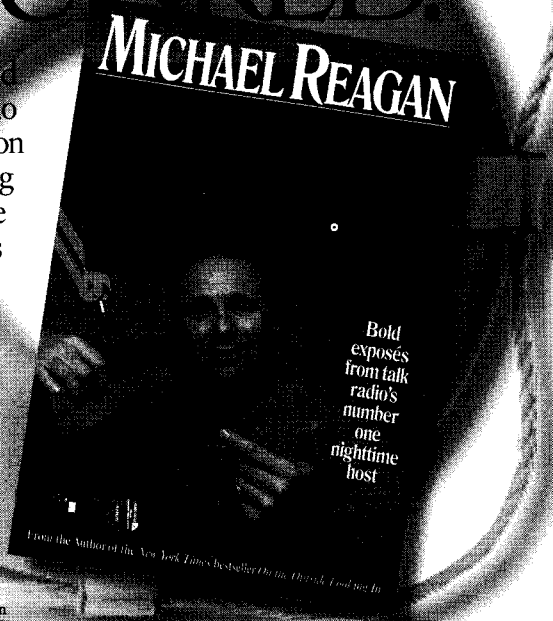
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Rotten to the Gore

Albert Gore will say or do anything to get elected—and feel righteous doing it.

RICH LOWRY

IN 1991, with President George Bush still riding high, then-Sen. Al Gore announced he wouldn't make another bid for the Democratic presidential nomination—partly because two years earlier his son had nearly died after being struck by a car. "My family—my wife and four young children—are more important than politics and personal ambition," he avowed. Half a year later Gore's manifesto on the ecological crisis, *Earth in the Balance*, appeared—also a result, he writes in the introduction, of his son's accident. The experience made him uncomfortable with the compromises and tawdriness of practical politics, "increasingly impatient with the status quo, with conventional wisdom." By his own telling, Gore had been transformed into a politician of extraordinary virtue, willing to forsake ambition for his family, determined to embark on a quasi-spiritual crusade to save not just America or even democracy, but the planet.

Then, Bill Clinton called. Gore took the second spot on the ticket in 1992 and decided the wife and kids could wait while he spent his days disavowing the implications of *Earth in the Balance* in national debates and defending the compromises and tawdriness of the former Arkansas governor. Why the reversal? Well, it turns out, because his son had nearly died in a car accident. Accepting the vice-presidential nomination, Gore told the Democratic National Convention how immediately after the accident his son "was limp and still,

without breath or pulse." Gore was running for national office because, like his son, "our democracy is lying there in the gutter, waiting for us to give it a second breath of life." His son's near-death, then, was now a kind of qualification for higher office. In fact, it seemed to be a justification for *anything*, a charm that Gore could rub whenever he needed an aura of virtue.

Gore's father raised him to be President, and everything around him becomes automatically subsumed in the lifelong Al Gore for President campaign. His son's near death becomes a nice metaphor, his sister's painful, losing struggle with cancer a useful rhetorical riff, pandering and playing loose with the truth a necessary expedient

(except when renouncing the same is even more expedient). And none of this is calculating or low because it is in the service of a goal whose purity is beyond reproach—elevating Al Gore. The Vice President's reputation as a stiff at once underestimates him and gives him too much credit. Gore is disciplined and smart, at least an even match for his presumptive opponent in 2000, Jack Kemp. He is also, along with Hillary Clinton, today's foremost practitioner of the odious political style of the enlightened Baby Boomer, who assumes his own righteousness and considers any expedient justified in trying to visit it upon the nation.

Gore, a self-styled "Son of the South," is really a Beltway baby. His father, Al Gore Sr., was a senator from Tennessee, and raised young Al in what is now the Ritz-Carlton hotel. He went to St. Albans, the exclusive prep school, and then on to Harvard, where, the joke goes, he studied Southern as a foreign language. His dad, meanwhile, got in trouble back home for his opposition to the Vietnam War. Al opposed the War, but volunteered to avoid embarrassing his father—or, as the young Bill Clinton might have put it, to maintain his father's viability within the system. His dad lost anyway in 1970. Al supposedly soured on politics, but not enough to keep him from dropping his reporter job at a moment's notice six years later and running for an open congressional seat. He won the primary—tantamount to election—by 3,500 votes, the tightest race in his otherwise charmed political life.



THE REAL "MOST OPTIMISTIC MAN IN THE COUNTRY"

Mr. Lowry is NR's national political reporter.

In the House and then in the Senate—he won a Senate seat in 1984—Gore compiled a moderately liberal voting record (his Americans for Democratic Action rating hovered around 70). As a congressman, he had a knack for grabbing headlines by championing goo-goo causes like nutritional standards for baby formula. In the Senate, GOP staffers still drip with contempt for him as “a joke,” who never matched his rhetoric with substance. He made his name on issues that, as Michael

*Gore's 1988
presidential bid was
an exercise in
ham-handed and
utterly predictable
cynicism*

Kinsley has pointed out, were always “difficult” in the sense of being technical and dull, but not contentious. He became a student of the minutiae of arms control. He sponsored the Supercomputer Network Study Act. He, of course, talked about toxic waste. You can almost hear him thinking: “Just don’t make mistakes.” It’s an understandable impulse—steer a safe course and graduate from Harvard, succeed your daddy in the Senate, maybe even become President.

The attitude suffused Gore’s 1988 presidential bid, an exercise in ham-handed and utterly predictable cynicism. Gore ran at the urging of a group of wealthy Democrats who thought he could fill the “moderate” niche in the campaign. But his candidacy never developed a rationale. One of his first acts was to fly to Los Angeles with Tipper to tell music executives his wife didn’t really mean the nasty things she had said about rock lyrics. Then he tried on successive campaign themes. The one he settled on was that he was the superhawk in a field of liberal wimps, despite the fact that it was at odds with his record (votes against the Contras, against SDI, etc.). He wrote off Iowa, declaring, “I will not barter my beliefs to win votes here or elsewhere,” then went on to sell them wholesale anywhere he thought he might find a buyer.

In Virginia, he visited a Norfolk ship-

yard to rap his opponents for wanting to cancel contracts for aircraft carriers there. Never mind that Gore had voted against \$688 million in fiscal-1988 funding for those same carriers. After a disappointing showing in the Southern Super Tuesday primaries, he headed North, willing to try anything. In union-dominated Michigan he declared: “I want to put the Democratic Party back on the side of working people.” In Wisconsin he proposed a ridiculous hike in the dairy-support program that, by one estimate, would have cost consumers an extra forty cents a gallon. He even borrowed Dick Gephardt’s economic-nationalist theme—earlier he had been a critic—when he vowed in an ad to “make these corporations pay their share of taxes and create jobs here in America.” In New York, finally, he became the candidate of Israel and Ed Koch, before his campaign at last was put out of its misery.

In *Earth in the Balance*, published in early 1992, Gore pours some scorn, as well he might, on his 1988 bid. The book is self-flagellating and self-promoting all at once, and has a certain unhinged quality. Gore warns that we are at the “edge of history,” because “[m]odern industrial civilization, as presently organized, is colliding violently with our planet’s ecological system.” So, he proposes nothing less than its complete re-organization. He rules out world government (sorry, just not practical), but not much else. He calls for a Global Marshall Plan. A Strategic Environment Initiative will phase out “inappropriate technologies,” including that pesky internal-combustion engine. A regime of taxes and regulations will make the environment a crucial factor in all economic decisions. Finally, binding international agreements will ensure that all nations stick with the program.

What got into Al Gore? There’s still a Boy Scout feel to his advocacy. How can he get the most merit badges? By saving the planet. But Gore is also in the grip of a new idea: We’re all interconnected; our decisions affect other people; *there’s an entire world outside Al Gore!* “The search for truths about this ungodly crisis,” Gore writes, “and the search for truths about myself have been the same search all along.” The book brims with amateur psychology. “[W]e internalize the pain of our lost sense of connection to the natural world, we consume the earth and its resources as a way to distract ourselves from the pain,

and we search insatiably for artificial substitutes to replace the experience of communion with the world that has been taken from us.” Uh-huh. Gore’s laments over our loss of connection with ourselves at times sound like a timid politician’s cry for help.

The book marks a departure for Gore. Before, he could only muster his self-righteousness in the service of his ambition. Now he can do it for a cause, permitting him to go straight from smarmy politico to fanatic. With his repeated, sophomoric references to Nazism, he implies that those who don’t share his views are not misguided, but evil. “It is not merely in the service of analogy that I have referred so often to the struggles against Nazi and Communist totalitarianism,” he writes, “because I believe that the emerging effort to save the environment is a continuation of these struggles.” Almost anything is justified in such a fight, and Gore makes it clear that science in particular shouldn’t be allowed to stand in the way. He attacks Descartes and Bacon for laying the groundwork for the modern scientific revolution, and criticizes the notion that there “can be a separation between facts and values, between the thoughts of a scientist and the moral duties of a human being.”

GORE has already struck blows for a science colored with his values. His Senate office was involved in an effort to discredit S. Fred Singer, a prominent skeptic about the greenhouse effect, after Singer published an article co-signed by Roger Revelle—the father of global-warming theory and an inspiration to Gore—suggesting that there wasn’t evidence to justify radical actions to prevent global warming. Singer sued his chief critic, who had co-ordinated with Gore’s office, for libel and won a public apology. Meanwhile, Bush appointee William Happer, the highly regarded director of research at the Department of Energy, was slated to stay on board after the 1992 election. But Happer, in internal discussions and congressional testimony, continued to discount global-warming alarmism and push for additional research before taking draconian action. One former Energy employee remembers a meeting where a high-ranking civil servant told Happer, “I agree with you, Will, but I’d like to keep my job.” Happer got the axe.

Environmentalism has become de

rigueur throughout the Administration. Warren Christopher recently declared that environmental issues would be a top priority of the *State Department*. It was a victory for Gore, whose most ambitious environmental project so far was the BTU energy tax, which took a drubbing in Congress in 1993. Other efforts to advance the green agenda have been similarly tempered by reality. "Faced with an unresponsive Congress," says Jonathan Adler of the Competitive Enterprise Institute, "Gore has provided an ideological rudder to ensure environmental initiatives still advance as far as possible." When the Administration developed a Climate Change Action Plan in 1993, environmentalists were angry that it didn't insist on mandatory caps on greenhouse emissions. In July the Administration decided it would push for just such caps, in another baby step on the way to the Global Marshall Plan.

GORE has also succeeded, thanks to his sheer relentlessness, in making himself a player in the Administration more broadly. He generally has pushed Clinton toward the center, urging him to produce a balanced budget by a date certain and sign welfare reform. His own moderate credentials have been burnished by his Re-inventing Government (REGO) project, which is typical Gore: it has unobjectionable goals, involves a lot of technical details, and is much less than meets the eye. Savings have fallen far short of projections, while the project's vaunted personnel reductions are mostly a result of Defense Department downsizing. Besides, Gore's true loyalties are elsewhere. The Environmental Protection Agency's highly touted Project XL is supposed to be a model of chastened REGO-style regulation. But the state of Minnesota is already considering quitting the pilot program. One Dow Chemical official told *Chemical Week*, "XL may be more cumbersome than the permitting process."

But REGO is still a bragging point for Gore, as he runs simultaneously for Vice President this year and President in 2000. He's better on the stump than his reputation suggests, especially adept, as he demonstrated with his Macarena dance in Chicago, at poking fun at himself. But he still can be flat. Before a Jewish group in New York City recently, he recited a speech in a monotone, occasionally inserting lengthy pauses be-

tween words for emphasis. Is this Al Gore delivering a speech or Al Gore pretending to be Al Gore delivering a speech? But a day later at the State University of New York at Albany he rallied a packed gymnasium of hyped-up students. They yelled, "Do it!", and "Macarena!" as soon as he came to the lectern. He pounded away at GOP education cuts, Medicare cuts, etc. He somehow took credit for the economic recovery and must have mentioned the phrase "bridge to the future" half a dozen times. It was a vague, slightly dishonest performance, totally lacking in content, exactly the kind of politics he attacked in *Earth in the Balance*.

It's too early to handicap the Democratic race in 2000, but Gore and Dick Gephardt are likely to be major contenders. Gore should occupy the center and try to tack left to pick up the party's

special interests. Gephardt will do roughly the opposite. But neither is exactly a fresh wind in the party. The New Democrat movement, such as it is, has always been an outside force, hoping to overthrow the party's established order. Gore is at best an establishment fellow-traveler. The major debate among Democrats after 1996 will be whether Clinton's renewed popularity is a result of his move to the center or his defense of traditional government spending programs. Gore, who advocated both a balanced budget and standing firm against the GOP during the shutdowns, is well positioned to straddle the debate. Then, no doubt, he will work to make this accommodation seem a matter of high principle and courage. Dependent on his victory will be the nation's, nay the planet's, future. And, much more importantly, that of Al Gore. □

Lying with Statistics

Efforts to discredit the economic achievements of the 1980s just don't add up.

ALAN REYNOLDS

BY ANY measure of real output or income, economic growth has been much slower since 1993, when tax rates were last increased, than it was from 1983 to 1989, when tax rates were coming down. The agility with which some people deny such undeniable facts is quite remarkable. It usually involves some mixture of the following tricks:

1. *Redefine the Eighties.* This year's nomination for the annual John Berry award for economic illiteracy goes to . . . John Berry. On August 10, Berry wrote in the *Washington Post* that, "Despite the supply-siders' rosy view of what happened in the 1980s, productivity growth from 1986, when income tax rates reached their low point, through 1995 averaged less than 1 per cent a year." Defining 1986 to 1995 as "the 1980s" is a truly remarkable achievement in creative news reporting. It even surpasses the previous record set by Paul Krugman of Stanford, who starts "the 1980s" with 1977.

2. *Compare this expansion with past*

recessions. In the *Wall Street Journal* of July 18, Steven Rattner of Lazard Frères claimed the economy grew by only 2.4 per cent a year in the "Reagan-Bush" years. In order to come up with that low a figure Rattner had to place Reagan in the White House in 1980 rather than 1981, and have Bush leaving office in 1991 rather than 1993. Even after this artful dodging, however, Rattner still comes up with a number that is about the same as average growth during the Clinton "expansion." We have to add *two* recessions to the Reagan years, not just one, in order to get the growth rate down to the Clinton standard. But it makes no sense to compare growth rates during an expansion with any period that includes a recession.

3. *Forget what happened when.* Another reason why it is deceptive to include the 1981-82 recession in any comparison with the Clinton years is

Mr. Reynolds is director of economic research at the Hudson Institute.

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that tax rates were not reduced until 1983–84. In a July 17 letter to the editor in the *Wall Street Journal*, Rep. Maurice Hinchey (D., N.Y.) states that a “tax cut . . . took effect in 1981.” This is flatly wrong. Thanks to “bracket creep,” *income taxes were a record share of GDP in 1981–82*. Since the point of Rep. Hinchey’s comment is to suggest that lower tax rates did not help the economy, it makes no sense to start measuring the impact of lower tax rates *before* tax rates were reduced.

John Berry also got the timing all wrong. He wrote that “Income-tax rates reached their low point” in 1986–95. In fact, income-tax rates reached their low point in 1988–90, and have been increased twice since then. Tax rates *on income from capital* (such as profits, dividends, and capital gains)—which are particularly relevant to productivity—were increased by the tax bill of 1986, and further increased in 1990 and 1993.

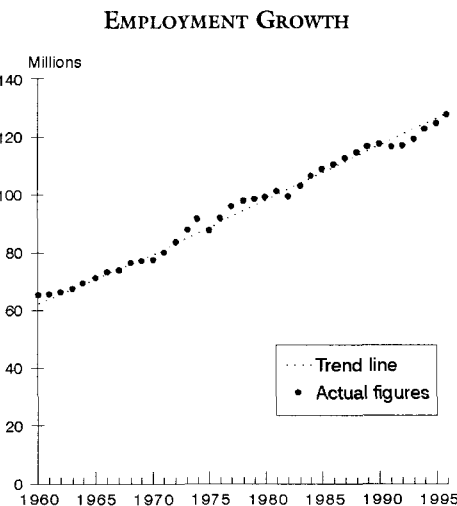
Steven Rattner writes that “Real hourly earnings are rising for the first time in 10 years.” This is surely a roundabout way to confess that *real compensation fell from 1992 to 1995*, after rising by 7 per cent from 1981 to 1988. What Rattner is really saying is that *wages and benefits in 1996 are back down to where they were ten years ago*, which is nothing to brag about.

4. Glorify the Seventies. The Concord Coalition says, “To avoid being misled by the business cycle, growth should be measured from one business-cycle peak to the next. . . . [GDP] growth averaged 3.4 per cent from 1969 to 1980. In the 1980s, it dropped to 2.7 per cent. Clearly, the Reagan tax cuts had little effect.”

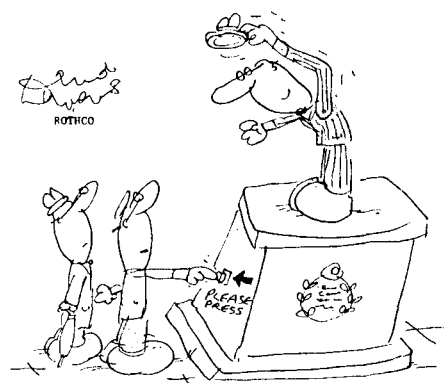
Yet the period from 1969 to 1980 was not one business cycle, but three. There were nasty episodes of stagflation in 1969–70, 1974–75, and 1980–82. The Concord Coalition is suspiciously vague about defining “the 1980s”; it appears to include recession quarters in 1980 and 1990. The figures look quite different when we actually follow the Coalition’s advice and measure GDP gains “from one business cycle peak to the next.” From the fourth quarter of 1973 to the first quarter of 1980, real GDP increased from \$3,936 billion to \$4,574 billion—a grand total of 16.2 per cent. By the second quarter of 1990, real GDP had increased to \$6,174 billion—or 32.8 per cent. Clearly, the Concord Coalition’s nos-

talgia about the Seventies is unwarranted, even aside from the insufferable inflation of that decade.

5. Blame President Bush for not handing Clinton a deep recession. In *The New Republic* (Sept. 2), Matthew Miller writes, “The boom supply-siders love to tout, the 3.8 per cent annual growth between 1982 and 1989, came mainly



because we were emerging from a deep recession that left jobless rates in double digits and much idle capacity.” Alan Blinder of Princeton makes this same excuse. Apparently, poor Bill Clinton was not so lucky as to inherit the same sort of mess that Jimmy Carter left on Reagan’s doorstep, so it just isn’t fair to compare the post-1991 expansion with the post-1982 expansion. This story can explain only why it was easy to have rapid growth in early 1983 by regaining the ground lost during the recession. It certainly cannot explain how and why real GDP rose by 32.8 per cent between the first quarter of 1980 and the second quarter of 1990. Real GDP in the second quarter of 1983 was already back to the previous peak level of early 1981. After that we were not in a “recovery,”



“He was a gentleman to the core.”

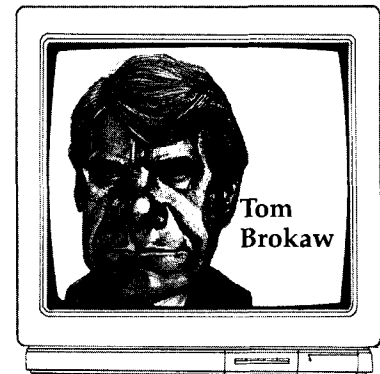
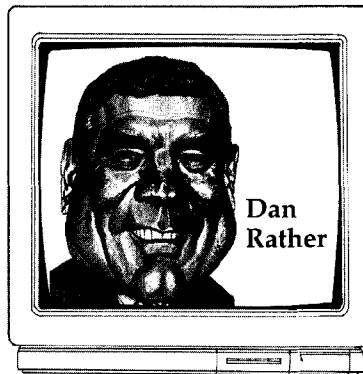
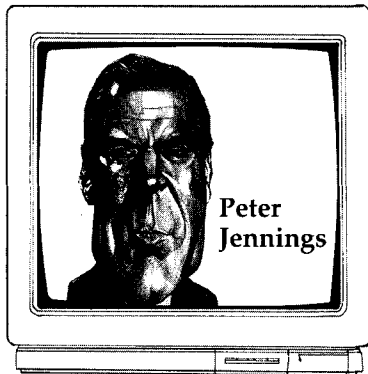
but in a seven-year expansion. The graph shows that employment fell sharply in 1975, but dipped less far in 1981–82. Indeed, employment in 1982 was higher than it had been in 1980. What the brief bounce after 1975 proved is that starting from a deep recession does not ensure a long and strong expansion. Note also that employment growth was above trend in the 1980s, but has been merely routine under Clinton.

6. Make assertions about facts without bothering to mention any facts. Lawrence Chimerine of the Economic Strategy Institute wrote “The Return of the Supply-Siders” in the *Washington Post*, July 23. Chimerine said, “The personal savings rate dropped to a postwar record low, and the overall national savings rate dropped even more sharply.” The personal savings rate averaged 6.2 per cent from 1983 to 1989, compared with 4.2 per cent from 1993 to date. The national savings rate averaged 17.2 per cent from 1983 to 1989, compared with 14.6 per cent from 1993 to 1995. Chimerine wrote that “Productivity growth was extremely weak in the 1980s.” But productivity growth averaged 1.6 per cent a year from 1983 to 1989, compared with 0.5 per cent since 1993. Chimerine also wrote that “the rate of job growth was little improved from the 1970s.” Yet the figure shows that rapid job growth lasted twice as long in the 1980s, and far exceeded Clinton’s record. In short, Chimerine’s assertions about facts are not facts.

7. Compare the growth rate in a single quarter (the second quarter of 1996) with the average of 1983–89. Partisans are trying to make a big deal out of the 4.8 per cent annualized growth of GDP in the second quarter (thanks in large part to a burst of government spending). Yet quarterly growth was faster than 4.8 per cent eight times between 1983 and 1989. Besides, big-quarter GDP figures tell us nothing about the future. In the first quarter of 1973, the growth rate was 11 per cent. In the first quarter of 1981, the growth rate was 8 per cent. Those impressive quarterly figures were immediately followed by nasty recessions.

Apologists for high tax rates have become almost comical in their arrogant ignorance even by the low standards of election years. They should be ashamed. □

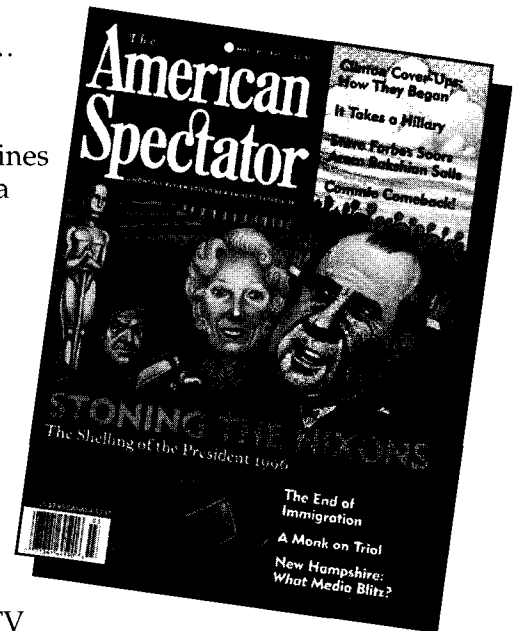
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FRANKLIN L. LAVIN

CHINESE officials are fond of stating that China has never really been an aggressor internationally. And it is true—throughout the thousands of years of recorded Chinese history, China has only infrequently been involved in external wars.

But this may be less reassuring than it appears. Might not geography and technology account for some of China's behavior? After all, even today China lacks the means to traverse Siberia and conquer Russia; or to traverse the Himalayas and conquer India; or to traverse the seas and conquer other countries. At various times China has readily established suzerainty over territories unlucky enough not to be separated by natural barriers: Indochina, Tibet, Korea, Central Asia. Although China has rarely been involved in wars, it has been involved in as many wars as it could be.

Moreover, in examining state behavior "internal" to China—when it was fragmented into several kingdoms—we see that Chinese states behaved, not surprisingly, like the states of Europe: rising and falling, forging alliances, conquering enemies. In other words, among themselves Chinese states behaved as other states behaved. In the broader setting of global politics, the Chinese have simply been absent from the game. The twenty-first century, however, will be different.

We may get a glimpse of the demands a newly ascendant China will place on the international system by looking at China's relations with its immediate neighbors—particularly at recent developments in the Taiwan Straits and the South China Sea.

Mr. Lavin is executive director of the Asia Pacific Policy Center, a non-profit research institute. He served in the Reagan and Bush Administrations.

Bilateral trading issues are the current centerpiece of U.S.-China relations, and there are still gripping human-rights issues, but it is China's forward policy in the region that poses the most significant challenge to longer-term U.S. and Asian interests. And this is a challenge the Clinton Administration is choosing to skirt, with attendant risks at a later date.

China signaled its new, aggressive policy in January 1995, when it established facilities on the appropriately named Mischief Reef—a contested atoll near the Philippine island of Palawan. Conflicting claims of sovereignty are nothing new in international affairs; nor are they a new matter for China's foreign policy. The People's Republic seized islands in the Paracel Group (north of the Spratlys) from South Vietnam in 1974 as Saigon was collapsing and U.S. support was being phased out. China also grabbed islands from the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (North

greater distance than from Moscow to Gibraltar. These waters have substantial economic and military importance, not only because of their vast expanse (larger than the Mediterranean Sea) but also because they cut across one of the world's major sea lanes, that between the Far East and the Middle East, through which some 25 per cent of the world's shipping passes. Some 90 per cent of Japan's oil flows through this territory, and the U.S. Pacific fleet passes through it to get to the Middle East or the Indian Ocean.

THERE are many schools of thought as to China's motives and ultimate goals in the South China Sea. Is Peking expanding for economic reasons—a desire for access to oil or fishing rights in the South China Sea? Is it regional politics—to garner an advantage vis-à-vis China's neighbors? Is it strategic—to dominate the sea lanes vital to the United States, Japan, and the other industrialized countries? Or is the motivation to be found in domestic politics—the desire to placate the military in the swirling currents of the post-Deng succession?

Examining journals, press reports, and seminar presentations over the past year, one can find a multiplicity of theories. Some say the Chinese want an air base in the Spratlys. Some say they are "merely" seeking to strengthen their hand in negotiations over the contested

claim. Some see the move as a way to pressure Manila to agree to "joint exploration" of oil and other resources in the area covered by their conflicting claims, with joint terms dictated by Peking.

Tactically, China's move indicates a purposefulness that leaves many in Washington uneasy. Look at three dimensions: 1) The PRC

picked arguably the weakest military power in the region from which to take territory. 2) Although five different entities claim parts of the Spratlys, the PRC seized territory on which there was only one competing claim. 3) The PRC acted swiftly, presenting the world with a *fait accompli*.

In March 1996, China undertook another massive military enterprise, in the form of an exercise in the Taiwan Straits. With over 150,000 troops involved, it was the largest military activity China had undertaken since the Ko-

COMPARATIVE STRENGTH			
	China	Philippines	Force X
Armed forces	2,930,000	106,500	40,000
Tanks	9,200	126	0*
Submarines	51	0	0
Destroyers/Frigates	55	1	0
Patrol craft	870	44	27
Aircraft	5,845	43	7

IISS, London, from April 13, 1995 *Far Eastern Economic Review*
 *Some armored vehicles

Vietnam) in 1978 just as Hanoi was loosening ties to its protector, Moscow. And now China has occupied islands claimed by the Philippines, following the withdrawal of U.S. bases.

The breadth of China's claims in the region are worth contemplating. They are based on a fourteenth-century voyage of an intrepid Chinese admiral, and they extend as far as waters off the coast of Borneo, some 6,000 miles from Peking. To give a sense of Peking's expansive self-perception, from Peking to the farthest reaches of the claim is a

rean War. The exercise took place the week before Taiwan's first direct presidential elections and included missile tests off of Taiwan's main ports, resulting in the rerouting of ships, a drop in the New Taiwan Dollar, and a run on the Taiwan stock market.

Peking's actions vis-à-vis Taiwan provoke the same sort of theories as the Spratlys action, with most observers pointing to the role Taiwan plays in Peking's domestic politics, Peking's desire to deflate Taiwan's growing independence movement, and in particular the desire to disrupt the Taiwan elections.

But military operations are based on calculations not of a country's absolute ability to act, but of its relative ability. One must look at the target of the action as well as the actor. And clearly, the mammoth asymmetry in the region is an inducement for China to be mischievous. Although the rates of economic growth China enjoys do not differ substantially from the rates of growth in Taiwan or its ASEAN neighbors (Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and Vietnam), the absolute difference is substantial because of China's much larger GDP. China and Malaysia, for example, enjoy growth rates of 9.8 per cent and 8.5 per cent respectively. But because China's GDP is perhaps 50 times larger than Malaysia's, China's economy grows by the entire Malaysian economy every 10 weeks. Not incidentally, China's population grows by the entire Malaysian population every 40 weeks.

The military contrasts are starker still. Anyone wondering why the Philippines did not choose a direct military response to China's move on Mischief Reef need only compare the two countries' forces. [See table, facing page.] The differences between China and the Philippines are striking; force levels are on a completely different order of magnitude. For comparison purposes, the Philippines are actually closer to "Force X," which incidentally is the New York City Police Department.

AS SMALL as each of the other nations of the region is compared to China, do they at least have the ability to work together on security matters?

At present there is more security consultation in the region than ever before, through the three-year-old ASEAN Re-

"This is a book that should be read by anyone who genuinely cares about the poor."

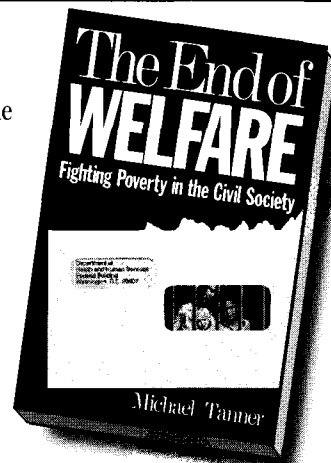
—Kim Dennis, Executive Director, The Philanthropy Roundtable

Since the beginning of the War on Poverty in 1965, federal and state governments have spent more than \$5.4 trillion trying to ease the plight of the poor. What we have for this massive investment is, primarily, more poverty. Our welfare system is unfair to everyone, especially the poor, who are trapped in a system that destroys opportunity for themselves and hope for their children. Tanner argues that despite the recent welfare reform bill, welfare is still a fundamentally flawed concept that discourages work and promotes illegitimacy and dependency.

The End of Welfare

by Michael Tanner

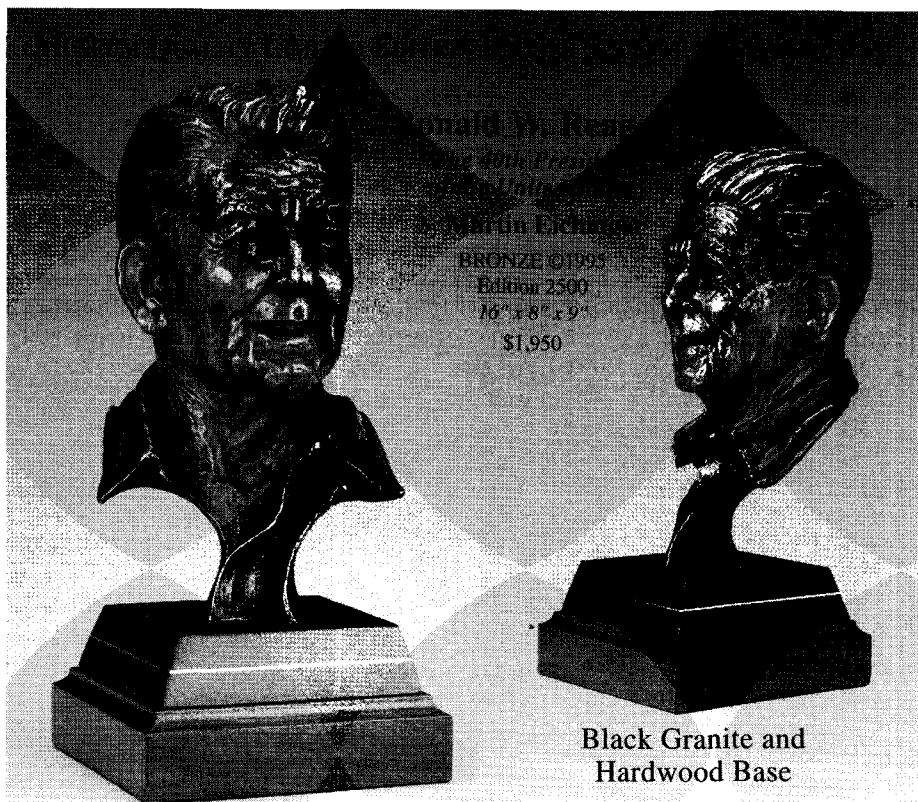
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gional Forum, a loose multilateral consultative mechanism. Somewhat similar to the former Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe—the Helsinki Agreement—the ARF is not a mutual-security organ or a defense pact, but a mechanism to promote confidence-building measures such as “transparency.”

The third gathering of the ARF took place this July in Indonesia. Not sur-

*In fact, the
noteworthy
development would
have been if China had
not seized territory
when presented with
such an opportunity*

prisingly, China remains an unenthusiastic participant. Why would the emerging power in the region want to constrain its operating flexibility by bolstering a multilateral body? The problem of the ARF is the endemic problem of multilateral consultations: the most serious participants do not pose the most serious problems; the most serious problems are not within the grasp of the most serious participants. And while the ARF is of some limited use in dealing with South China Sea issues, it cannot even raise the matter of China-Taiwan, because all ARF member-countries recognize only one China.

So the answer for now, at least, is, No—the countries of the region cannot work together on regional security matters. Even ASEAN, as useful an organization as it is, deals only with economic and political issues and is not a security organization. Each country in the region stands more or less alone.

Thus considering the region in isolation, the classical ingredients for expansion are present: a regional power in economic/military ascendancy; an enormous disparity in forces between it and the other countries in the region; and the lack of a regional security arrangement that might allow the smaller powers to coordinate their response.

Rather than ask why Peking expands, we might do better to ask, “Why not?”

At present, there is virtually no cost to such actions. In fact, the noteworthy development would have been if China had *not* seized territory when presented with such an opportunity. We should fully expect China to continue to exploit similar opportunities—unless something changes the equation.

Taiwan presents a thornier problem, since it represents a political challenge to Peking and does have substantial military capability. It enjoys sympathy in the region but (like China) has no military allies in the world. Although Peking could not conquer Taiwan militarily at this point, it could easily stir up commercial and financial turmoil on the island. Again, a balancing power is needed to deter any miscalculations on Peking’s part.

We have already begun to see an unhealthy dynamic at play since the Mischief Reef incident. When Peking grabbed the reef it did not grab the interest of senior U.S. Government officials. U.S. Defense Department officials insist that the atoll is now devoid of Chinese personnel, hence not a problem. Similarly, in Senate testimony, Admiral Macke, the Commander-in-Chief of U.S. Pacific Forces, said the island would be used by Chinese fishing fleets, not by the Chinese military.

In the absence of a clear U.S. response, the reaction in the region was predictable, with the governments involved expressing only mild misgiving. Some observers note that ASEAN countries’ preference is for quiet diplomacy. True, they strive for a low-key, collegial response on most issues; but in this case the United States is leaving them no option but quiet diplomacy. The ASEAN states are never going to be more forceful than the United States in confronting China. After all, they have to live with the consequences of a failed policy.

In recent months Singapore’s Senior Minister Lee Kuan Yew has spoken in favor of greater “transparency” by China over its moves and motives in the South China Sea. Lee is the elder statesman of the region, and one who chooses his words carefully; and so his suggestion is a signal of the growing discontent among the Southeast Asian leadership.

Perhaps learning its lessons from the weak response to Mischief Reef, the United States unfolded a very different response to the war games in the Taiwan Straits, making a strong protest

and dispatching two carrier battle groups to the region.

U.S.-China diplomacy, given to short-term ups and downs, too often relegates strategic responses to the background. This short-term fixation has become particularly pronounced in the Clinton era. Well-intentioned but unrealizable human-rights goals are fashioned into public ultimatums and blithely rejected by the Chinese. A series of bilateral trade negotiations seems to go successfully, but later reviews reveal sizable gaps in Chinese performance. On a more serious level, the Chinese government declines to help the United States either with North Korea or with nuclear-related sales to Iran.

By overemphasizing unobtainable goals and underemphasizing security issues, the Clinton Administration seems to have spent most of the past three years trying to convince the Chinese government not to take the United States seriously. It has largely succeeded.

Reversing this effect will be a long-term project, with some cost and some friction involved. Fortunately, there are a number of options available. The United States can readily improve security consultations with the ASEAN countries. It could go a bit further, with a show of military coordination, perhaps even joint exercises. The U.S. has a fair amount of military equipment in its inventory that it could sell—or even give—to some ASEAN nations. And the United States needs to begin the awkward process of engaging in military-to-military discussions with its former enemy, Vietnam.

A SIMILAR package of activities could be devised for Taiwan. If the PRC conducts missile tests off Taiwan, the United States should look into what type of anti-missile systems it should develop with Taiwan. If the PRC interferes with shipping to Taiwan, the U.S. needs to practice convoy escort coordination with the Taiwan Navy. The point is to ensure that every untoward act by the PRC has an equal and opposite reaction.

In addition to some carrots for the ASEAN countries and Taiwan, the United States should look at some sticks to use on China itself. What about a stronger response from the White House via a special emissary to Peking, or even suspending the U.S. naval-port visits to China and other U.S.-PRC military-to-military programs? Such

moves should be part of the policy discussion in the event of a repeat incident.

And a repeat incident there will be. Because the broader problem is that China is an ascending military power, without much of a history of successful international behavior. Chinese and non-Chinese have been clumsy in their dealings with each other. The United States needs to focus on rewarding cooperative behavior and attaching a cost to uncooperative behavior.

IN DOING so, our government needs to combine resoluteness of policy with a temperate, consistent, non-accusatory presentation—the exact opposite of the Clinton Administration's human-rights approach so far, in which a malleable policy was put forward in a flamboyant, accusatory fashion. Our goal should not be to chastise a proud nation, nor to embarrass its leaders, nor to deny it a natural pre-eminence in its own backyard. It should simply be to preclude expansion by use of force. In contrast to our response to the ideologically driven expansionism of the Soviet Union, there is no need for a global geopolitical offensive against China.

Although a sharp and public response might give American political leadership satisfaction and be immediately popular, it would not necessarily lead to better behavior on the part of the Chinese leaders. Indeed, sharp public criticism would give them nationalist incentives to reject U.S. goals. As President Clinton discovered in his human-rights initiative, once criticism becomes public, China's national pride and sovereign decision-making capability matter more to Peking than substantive points.

We should avoid allowing matters to degenerate into a test of wills between the two nations. We should preserve a relationship with China in areas which promise mutual benefit, such as commercial relations and perhaps cooperation on North Korea.

An engaged United States is needed in the region if China's thrusts are to be countered. Only the United States can serve as a balancer to China's interests, because only the United States is widely viewed as a benign, or relatively disinterested, power in the region. The regional powers—Japan, India, and Russia—are inappropriate to the task, either because of their historical legacy or because of their lack of power-projection capability. Conversely, a reduction of the U.S. presence in the region tells

the smaller powers: Hurry to reach an accommodation with China, because the United States will not serve as the guarantor of peace.

What are China's motives? It does not necessarily matter. A country in a position of superiority does not need pre-existing motives to assert itself; its sheer weight and the perception of that weight by others are intrinsically assertive. Once China establishes a dominant position in the South China Sea or the Taiwan Straits, it will not matter much what its original goals might have been.

It is also true that in a closed political system such as China's, there are few internal inhibitions on political behavior. An ambitious regional policy, once in place, will take on its own momentum because the Chinese system has an accelerator but no brake. There will be no legislative hearings in China over the new policy, no budget questions, and of course no skeptical newspaper editorials. Only an outside force has a chance of effecting a modification. The best way to help China follow a responsible course is to take away the option for irresponsible action.

Conflict and crises in international affairs often spring from minor, initially almost unnoticed, events. Failure to detect and respond to such minor challenges permits those challenges to mutate into more dangerous issues. China's recent behavior is little more than mischief-making in the South China Sea and only somewhat reckless in the Taiwan Straits. But if it meets no resistance—and the United States is the only country that can offer effective resistance—the mischief-making could become deadly serious.

For most of the last two centuries China has been acted upon by foreign states, sometimes in a disgraceful fashion. Weak and fragmented, China was unable to counter the demands for special privileges, the imposition of unequal treaties and extra-territoriality, the establishment of quasi-colonial relations and outright colonies.

In the next century, China will act, rather than being acted upon. It would be unfortunate in the extreme—for its neighbors and for the international system—if China behaves toward its neighbors as Western great powers have behaved toward it. And it would be unfortunate for China itself if, instead of assuming a leadership role in the family of nations, it were consigned to the margins as an international bully. □

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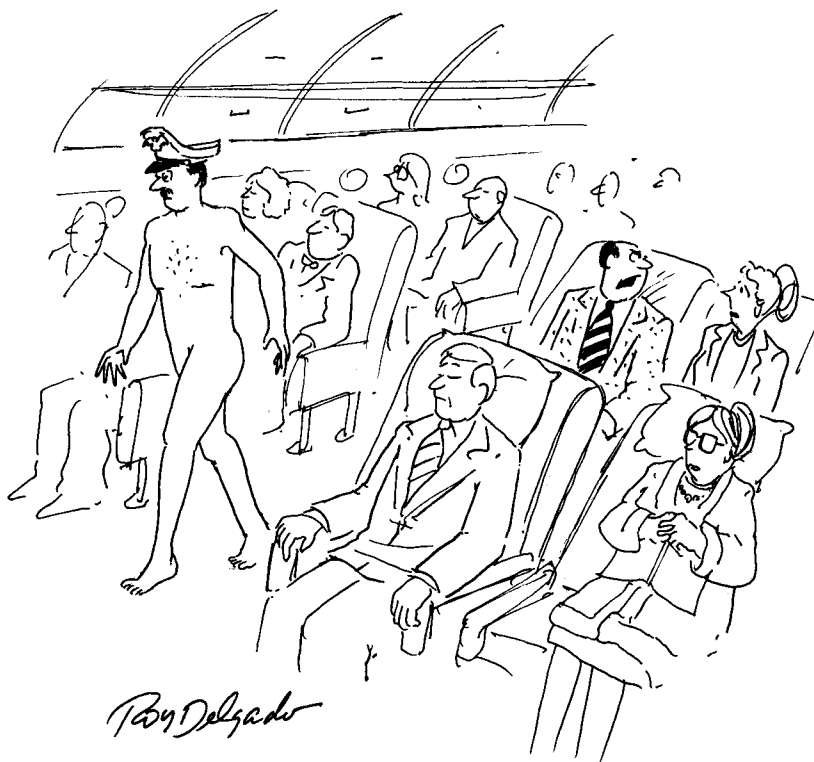
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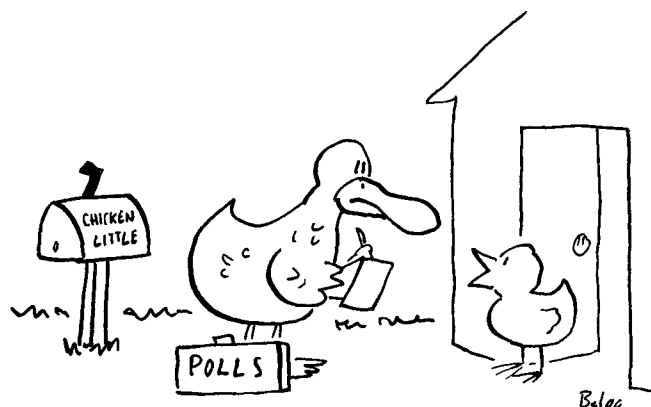
It Takes an Indictment

Forget the village. What it takes
To give the President the shakes
And put the Mrs. in a bind
Is juries—not the petit kind,
But grand ones looming like the fogs
They cut from cruise-ship travelogues
Along with (music, Maestro, please)
Ding-dongs that liquefy the knees.

—W. H. VON DREELE

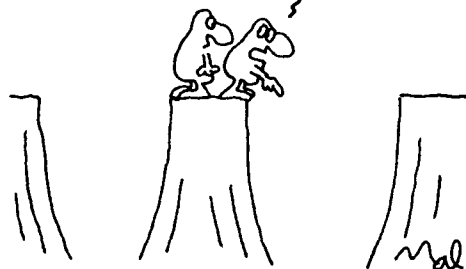


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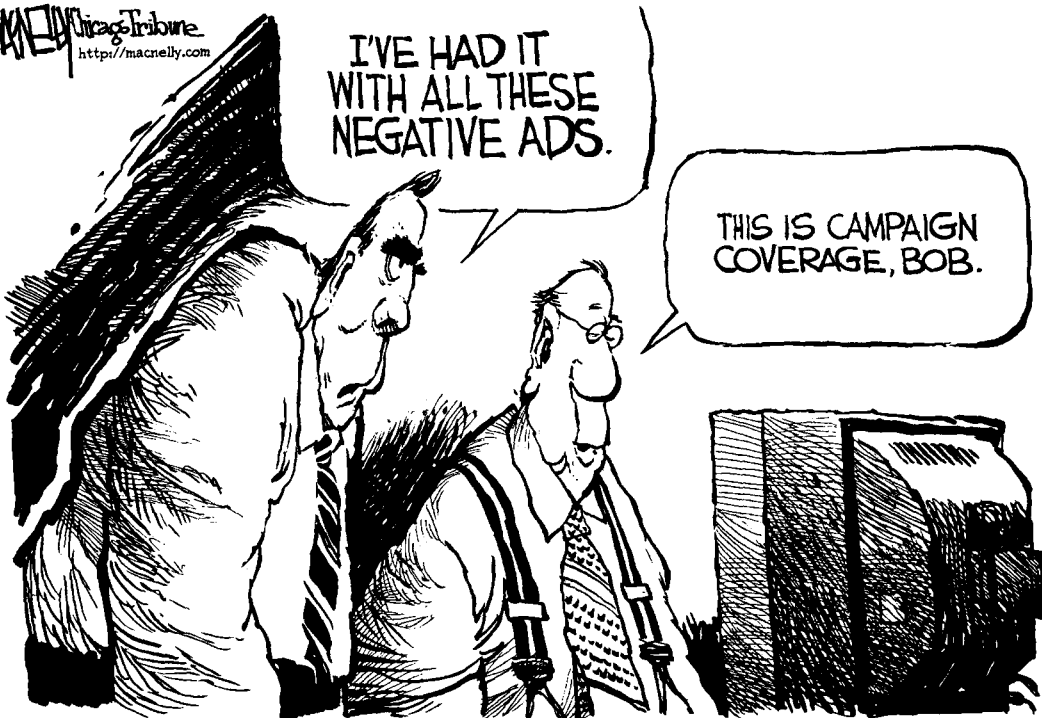


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THE VICE PRESIDENT
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TRANSCRIPT EXTRACT: CAMPAIGN PHONE LINK.
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STATIC. VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED

STATES: Rusty? Rusty, can you hear me?

STATIC. UNINTELLIGIBLE RESPONSE.

VPOTUS: Rusty?

STATIC. DEAD LINE.

VPOTUS: Damn satellite phones.

PHONE BEEPS. VPOTUS: Hello?

UNIDENTIFIED MALE VOICE: Who've I got here?

VPOTUS: This is Al Gore.

UNMALEV: Perfect. Just perfect. You with me?

VPOTUS: Who is this?

UNMALEV: Can't you recognize the voice?

Thought my voice was more recognizable than the ears on my head. Perfect. This is beautiful. This is interesting. Can you follow me?

VPOTUS: Ross Perot?

UNMALEV: Got it right the first time. Now just let me finish. Will you let me finish? Hey, what's that clicking and whirring sound?

VPOTUS: It's my wife. She's on the plane with me. She's taking pictures for a new book.

UNMALEV: Huh. Isn't that interesting. I heard the same clicking and whirring during my daughter's wedding. Huh.

VPOTUS: How did you get this number, Ross?

HRP: Simplest thing in the world. Computers truly are the problem-solvers of our time. But I didn't get you on the blower to make your ears sweat. I want to know why you agreed to keep me out of the debates. Just give me a simple answer.

VPOTUS: Well, Ross—

HRP: Will you let me finish? Can I finish here? Or is it just you talking and the American people wondering who lit the barn on fire and got the marshmallows out too late? Five Republicans and five Democrats got together and decided to keep me out of the debates and let me be completely clear with you—okay?—I have my home in Dallas and my children's homes under complete protection by a private group of security personnel and my wife and myself are wearing football helmets lined with tin foil—so do not—I repeat do not—attempt to alter our behavior with rays or beams from space because it won't work.

VPOTUS: Ross, I assure you, if it was up to me, I'd let you in the debates.

HRP: Of course you would. When you and I went on "Larry King" to debate NAFTA, it was very clear to the viewers—and I have had a team of

experts from countries that were once members of the Soviet bloc analyze the tape—that you were wearing a tiny device in your ear.

VPOTUS: I was, Ross. So were you. So was Larry. When you appear on television, the producers give you an earpiece so they can communicate with you from the booth.

HRP: Can I finish? I have been in business for forty years. I know how TV works. Now what you've just done is take a cat, skin it, put the skin on your head, and meow, okay?

VPOTUS: I beg your pardon?

HRP: You had an earpiece in the other earpiece and the White House was feeding you the answers.

VPOTUS: I resent that, Ross. I won that debate fair and square.

HRP: Now here's where it gets interesting. Okay? Let me simplify. And let me make it clear that the football helmets that my wife and I wear cannot be penetrated by thought waves, okay? Absolutely no thoughts can enter or exit.

VPOTUS: Ross—

HRP: I'm pulling out of the race.

VPOTUS: What?

HRP: Okay, I'm back in the race. The point is simple. I'm not stupid and neither are the American people. What are my chances in November?

VPOTUS: Honestly? Not good.

HRP: Okay. Now we've toasted the bread. Let's spread the peanut butter. Follow me. What if I promise not to go after Bill Clinton?

VPOTUS: What?

HRP: Still slow on the uptake, aren't you? Let's simplify. I run. I debate. Clinton wins. Okay?

VPOTUS: Okay.

HRP: Double-click on the year 2000. My guess is you want to be President.

VPOTUS: Well . . .

HRP: Now I've got to wrap this up because it's hard to hear through the helmet. Here's what I'm saying. I would be honored if you would run in the year 2000 on the Reform Party ticket.

VPOTUS: What?

HRP: Think about it.

VPOTUS: Okay, but—

HRP: Can I finish please? Can I please finish? I have to go. I'm going to debate a couple of empty chairs on "Larry King." If they interrupt me as much as you have, this is going to get interesting.

STATIC. END TRANSMISSION 11:35 AM.

BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

Outing the Internet

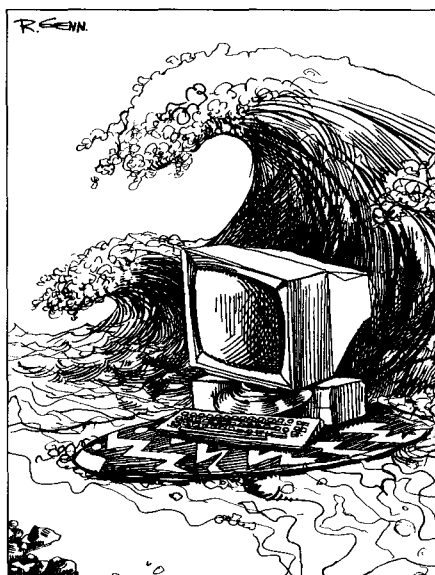
JAMES GARDNER

I WOULD have written this review sooner, but my computer broke down. I am not sure why it went dead, but since it did so just after I punched it, I would guess that there was some sort of connection. Why did I punch my computer? To punish it, of course. I had recently gotten on the Internet. After crawling—not surfing—along for about an hour and a half in search of some specific item of information, I had come just within reach of what I wanted when a stupid little screen display popped up and declared that Netscape, suffering from sensory overload, had had the cybernetic equivalent of a nervous breakdown. It was then that I punched my laptop.

In *Life on the Screen: Identity in the Age of the Internet*, Sherry Turkle presents us with a somewhat romanticized vision of the evolving interaction between computers and people. She notes that she has named her computer Miss Beautiful—a sobriquet for her daughter—and she tells of one of her students who named a computer program that organized her daily schedule after an ex-boyfriend (“I love to see him do my menial tasks”). To me such personification is totally alien, even if I confess to feeling a little sorry for having acted aggressively against a machine that had served me irreproachably for the past year. Though I refuse to personify my computer, however, I do spatialize it. That is, as I peer into the blue, lacustrine depths of the Windows program, with its delightful frieze of parti-colored icons along the top, I feel as if I were floating in a post-modern swimming pool somewhere on Ischia or Capri. In other words, I feel at home in my computer and I am comfortable and happy there.

Still, that does not qualify me as a “computer person,” and I even take a little pride in not being one. This was one reason I had delayed for some time before subscribing to an Internet service. Another reason was that I failed to

see what consequence this technology could possibly have for my life, why I really needed it. What finally convinced me to subscribe was the prospect of sending and receiving e-mail, not to mention a commercial in which Barry Farber seemed to suggest, if I under-



stood him correctly, that I would essentially be able to launch intercontinental ballistic missiles from the intimacy of my bedroom.

I was soon undeceived. The first thing one notices about the Internet is

that it has been vastly overrated. Though you will have heard of the Information Super-Highway, what awaits you is rather a high-tech single-lane dirt road where an excess of traffic has brought transportation almost to a standstill. Though you will also have heard about “surfing” the Internet, the gliding swiftness implied by that word will mean little to those who seem rather to limp or stumble than to surf. And to the extent that the surfing analogy has any validity, it is only in the sense that any moment a big wave—as in more data than your fragile modem can handle—will overwhelm the whole contraption.

The second thing one notices is that the Internet is the subtlest thief of time. By making you wait for each parcel of data you want, it steals a minute here and four minutes there until, before you know it, two hours of your life are gone beyond recall. And during this period of waiting, because these deposits of time are so tiny, you are unable to engage in any other activity. Add to this the fact that, once you arrive at the site, you are

Life on the Screen: Identity in the Age of the Internet, by Sherry Turkle (Simon & Schuster, 347 pp., \$25)

Road Warriors: Dreams and Nightmares along the Information Highway, by Daniel Burstein and David Kline (Dutton, 466 pp., \$24.95)

The Road Ahead, by Bill Gates (Viking, 286 pp., \$29.95)

War of the Worlds: Cyberspace and the High-Tech Assault on Reality, by Mark Slouka (Basic, 185 pp., \$20)

Escape Velocity, by Mark Dery (Grove, 376 pp., \$23)

apt to find a poorly written document whose loopy, time-consuming graphics are as appealing as public-access cable television in all its ranting, unedited profusion. There are many polished web sites, but most of these turn out to be little more than advertisements for providers of commercial goods and services, or they are documents provided

Mr. Gardner is NR's art critic. He can be reached by e-mail at g51@mail.idt.net.

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The Internet works in two ways. By typing in a web address, you can go directly to a specific site that has information that you know you want. But to surf the Internet is different. This

*The first thing
you notice is that
the Internet has been
vastly overrated*

suggests going along for the ride and not quite knowing where you are going. You do this by typing in the name of the subject or person you want to research. A moment later, the search mechanism, in my case Netscape, applies its various inscrutable criteria to come up with the nearest matches to what you seek. Naturally I began by typing in my name to see how many people on the Internet had mentioned—dare I hope it—my articles or my book. Here I ran into one of the most common problems with the Internet. The searcher cannot give you the object itself, but only matches of greater or lesser probability and a synopsis of each site. Thus when I entered the name James Gardner, it told me that it had found 86,754 Jameses and 23,456 Gardners and then proceeded to give examples in which the two words occurred in the requisite proximity. Unfortunately my name is not an uncommon one, and so I had to get through several entomologists and chiropractors, two naval engineers and a masseur before finding any reference to myself.

For some time I continued in this way to putter around on the information dirt road, accomplishing little and gradually coming to understand that the Internet, for all that people have said about it, is a more or less total waste of time and a not inconsiderable waste of money.

AND it was at precisely that moment that something happened which caused me suddenly to appreciate what everyone has been talking about for the last two or three years. What I understood was that the Internet

can be viewed as a massive encyclopedia. But whereas all earlier encyclopedias, simply by virtue of their existing as physical objects, were in a sense dead and out of date as a precondition of their very existence, the Internet by contrast is the Encyclopedia of NOW. As it happens I am finishing up a book on fringe groups, a subject which the Internet is uniquely qualified to tackle. I found at my fingertips abundant information about flat-earthers, Andrea Dworkin, snuff films, Queer Nation, the John Birch Society, creationism, and Islamic Jihad.

Another thing the Internet teaches you is that, no matter how obscure your interests, there are other people out there in cyberspace who are as passionate about them as you are. Though I know very few people whose interest in Latin is as energetic as my own, I soon found that I could correspond in that language with a group of college men in the Netherlands as well as an old professor in Finland and someone else in South Africa. What I find important and emblematic about this fact is that the futuristic Internet can be an agent by which the past is preserved and reinvigorated.

When I understood that, I confess that I had something of a conversion regarding not only the Internet, but also the great information revolution which is said to be getting under way. As of this moment mankind is entranced by the possibilities of computing. The almost obsessive insistence with which people seem to talk of nothing else, with which the Internet haunts our business pages, publishers' catalogues, and the graphics of advertisers and television producers, suggests that something almost incalculably big is afoot. To some degree this fascination resembles the interest in the atom 50 years ago and in space exploration 25 years ago. But neither of these technologies ever really promised, and surely neither ever produced, a direct and material effect upon our daily lives. With the Internet, by contrast, there is a nervous, giddy sense that, at long last, we are approaching some kind of critical mass. There is a buzz running so loud through all the breadth of human society, an electric excitement so jolting and so unexpected, that one could be excused for thinking that we are on the verge of

some great new age. And though books, if we believe the prophets of doom, are soon to vanish from the earth, there is nothing publishers seem to find more attractive or salable than volumes that promote and explain this instrument of their allegedly imminent demise.

The *People* magazine approach to the information revolution can be found in *Road Warriors*, by Daniel Burstein and David Kline. For these two investigative journalists, despite a useful introduction that reveals their deep understanding of what is at stake, the information revolution is essentially a re-enactment of earlier heroic ages of capitalist free-enterprise. But instead of the Fisks and the Goulds, we have shakers and movers ranging from John Malone and Ray Smith to Viacom, Sprint, and the Federal Communications Commission. Nevertheless, the authors are too hard-headed and rationalistic to be taken in by the euphoria of the revolution at hand, or to allow that enthusiasm to affect the tenor of their



reportage.

Far different is *The Road Ahead*, by Bill Gates, the prophet, if not the Messiah, of the information movement. His book can be read, if one is cynically inclined, as an extended sales pitch for Bill Gates. But Mr. Gates, despite his open and irrepressible enthusiasm for computing, has written a surprisingly candid and useful book. For Gates, the future of computing is the future of mankind, with technology becoming ever cheaper, more powerful, and more pervasive. As he expresses it in his chirping way:

I've already said I'm an optimist, and I'm optimistic about the impact of the new technology. It will enhance leisure time and enrich culture by expanding the distribution of information. It will help relieve pressures on urban areas by enabling individuals to work from home or remote-site offices. It will relieve pressure on natural resources because increasing numbers of products will be able to take the form of bits rather than of manufactured goods.

What makes *The Road Ahead* so surprisingly useful is that it seems to be a fair, even-handed, and sober appraisal of the situation and very clearly explains complicated ideas to laymen like myself. The author simply lays out one concept after another—the Internet, the information super-highway, high-definition televi-

sion, and fiber optics—with the result that those of us who are not techies finally understand all the terms that have been buzzing around in our heads for the past five years.

Naturally the information revolution is not without its dissenters. Few are as dourly pessimistic as Mark Slouka in *War of the Worlds*. This book seems to me to overreach somewhat by buying into the whole virtual-reality racket—which I predict will remain decidedly ancillary to the information revolution—and by supposing that this and other developments will spell the end of reality as we know it. As for the Internet itself, it “combines the worst of television—its addictiveness, its passivity—with the worst of on-line communication—its self-conscious glorification of superfluous [sic], its pop-culture chattiness, its pointless immediacy.”

Mark Dery's *Escape Velocity* in one sense goes even further. Dery seems at once to mock and to believe recent “post-human” speculations that advocate or predict a literal, physical merging of man and machine into a digitized, dehumanized whole. His book is a highly detailed discussion of cyberculture: that is, those new forms of art, literature, music, and attitude that have arisen at the corners of the information revolution. In his pages we encounter all the technopagans, virtual anarchists, cyber-novelists, performance artists, and cult film-makers for whom the information revolution is a virtual Bohemia joined in cyberspace to an equally virtual, if dystopian, Wild West.

THE fixation on the future that all these books exhibit to a remarkable degree has been a fixture of Western discourse for the last two hundred years: starting with Restif de la Bretonne, and extending through Jules Verne, H. G. Wells, Arthur C. Clarke, and William Gibson. The problem with books that seek, as these do, to discuss the future is that the future really is an undiscovered country from which imaginary travelers come back bearing more outlandish tales than Sir John Mandeville with his one-eyed anthropophagi. And because anyone's guess is as good as anyone else's, there seems to be an overwhelming impulse to exaggerate in the most shameless fashion imaginable, since it is the *déformation professionnelle* of all writers to want at all costs to have something to say.

And yet futurologists, even when they are more circumspect in their predictions, always make the same fundamental mistake, whether they view the future as a light-filled, pyramid-powered Eden or as a cybernetic Hell. Indeed, it is precisely the same mistake that many historians make when writing about the remoter past. And this mistake, it seems to me, is to suppose that to change the material circumstances of life is to alter fundamentally the sense of life itself. But life as it is lived is always pretty much the same, with the same protocols of boredom and excitement, the same glare of midday and gloom of eventide, the same petty ambitions, existential doubts, and immortal longings. We can certainly create the circumstances of greater freedom or greater oppression, but the range of possible variation in life itself, in the simple, irreducible sense of being alive, is far narrower than our chattering classes usually appreciate.

At the same time, it would be foolhardy and unfair to reason from this that change never happens. We have undergone great changes in this century; and though the Internet is still in its

earliest infancy, it promises to grow up quickly. From a purely technological perspective, many users of the Internet already have far more efficient modems than I have. And through Moore's Law, which states that every 18 months computers double in power as their prices drop by half, we can expect that we all shall soon be getting better Internet service for less money, which means that fewer users will feel the need to punch their laptops.

Earlier in my life, as a callow adolescent, I was so disenchanted with the paltriness of industrial civilization—that I almost felt, foolish as it sounds, that I'd like to repeal the modern age entirely. As each day passes, however, I find myself strengthened in the hope that, with the arrival at long last of the information revolution, human society will become more enlightened, more various, more efficient, cleaner, less expensive, freer, and more fun than it has ever been before. One feels privileged to be alive and conscious at this moment in history and can hardly wait to see what humankind will come up with next. □

Clueless at Oxford

MICHAEL J. BEHE

POLLS consistently show that 90 per cent of Americans do not believe life resulted from undirected evolution. After reading Richard Dawkins's new book, it is easy to see why. Not that Dawkins is a bad writer or a bad scientist. It's just that lively prose can't disguise the fact that science

Climbing Mount Improbable, by Richard Dawkins (Norton, 308 pp., \$25)

hasn't a clue as to what might explain the development of life.

Widely celebrated ten years ago for *The Blind Watchmaker*, his classic paean to Darwinism, Dawkins sticks to the same formula in *Climbing Mount Improbable*. For the main argument: show a few examples of simple change wrought by mutation and natural selection; follow with a tour of many marvels of biology; confidently assert that the marvels arose in the same way as the simple changes. For sideshows: offer

“computer evolution” drawings that look like bugs or trees; sprinkle the book with barbs aimed at religion and skeptical physicists. Close with a reverential tribute to evolution.

The marvels of biology are marvelous indeed. In the first chapter Dawkins guides us through the complexities of spider webs. How does a spider start building a web?

She releases a single thread with, at its tip, a tiny flattened silken sail or kite. This catches the air and floats. The kite is sticky and, if it happens to land on a firm surface the other side of the gap, it adheres. . . . Standing at one edge of the bridge, she initiates a new line from her rear end, and fastens it down securely. Then she severs the existing bridge by biting it through, keeping hold of the cut end in her feet. She walks across, supported by the remains of the cut bridge in front, and her

Mr. Behe is an associate professor of biological science at Lehigh University and the author of *Darwin's Black Box: The Biochemical Challenge to Evolution* (Free Press).

new line which she pays out behind. She is a living link in her own bridge, moving steadily across its span.

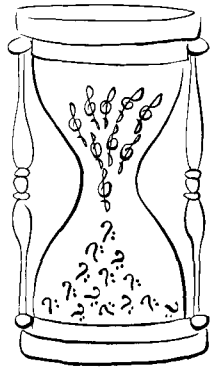
Like a good *National Geographic* article, Dawkins's writing leaves the reader slack-jawed in admiration of nature. But it is not merely for enchanting description that he was appointed to the novel Chair in the Public Understanding of Science at Oxford. Dawkins promises to explain to us how Darwin's mechanism—chance variation sifted by natural selection—built, step by painful step, such complex systems as spiders and webs.

It is important to distinguish Darwinism from the much more modest claim that all life shares a common ancestor. Common descent can reasonably be inferred from similarities among species, and can be supported by whatever transitional forms the fossil record reluctantly yields. The validity of Darwin's mechanism, however, cannot be confirmed by fossils. You can't tell by looking at the remains of long-dead animals what reshaped their bones or rearranged their viscera. Natural selection has to be tested by doing experiments with modern organisms, or by detailed reconstruction of an evolutionary pathway that might have led, through many stages of increasing utility, to a particular complex structure.

As Dawkins's description of spider webs plays out, our anticipation mounts. How did the first spider know what to do with a silk line blown by the wind? Why would it bite the second line? Did generations of spiders fall after severing the line before one decided to hang on? What mutations in neural pathways altered the spider's behavior? How did spiders catch their prey before spinning webs? We can't wait to learn. The Oxford professor will tell all.

No, he won't. Dawkins does not even attempt an explanation. Instead he plays bait-and-switch, smoothly leaving behind the world of real spiders to talk about a computer program that simulates spider behavior. The program *presupposes* computer spiders that can spin webs. It goes on to calculate that there is a happy medium between a web with too many strands (which would waste resources) and a web with too few (which would let computer flies buzz through). That's all, folks.

And so it goes for the rest of the book. Dawkins's entire explanation for elephant trunks and giraffe necks is that they got longer gradually—unless they got longer rapidly. Segmented insects evolved by starting with a single segment and then duplicating it, you see. In a virtuoso display of chutzpah, Dawkins spends several pages imagining how true flight might have begun with things like gliding squirrels, only to conclude with the sentence, "Some biologists, however, prefer to see long-distance downhill gliding as the dead end of the tree-jumping line of evolution."



SILK SPINNERS

ogists, however, prefer to see long-distance downhill gliding as the dead end of the tree-jumping line of evolution."

Dawkins's problem is that he is trying to popularize nonexistent science. Real science is published in journals such as the *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, the *Journal of Molecular Biology*, and so forth (virtually none of it written by Dawkins, who writes only for lay audiences). The journals are brimming with reports of how life works now, but detailed studies of how life might have arisen in a Darwinian manner are quite rare. No wonder—the interactive com-

Dawkins's problem is that he is trying to popularize nonexistent science

plexity of life's machinery fits poorly with a theory of gradual development. So Dawkins has to search long and hard for the odd paper to trumpet to the public. In a very long chapter about eyes (consisting mostly of description of how eyes work) he paraphrases Darwin's explanation for eye evolution: start with a light-sensitive spot; slowly curl it up; slowly add a lens. Dawkins then points out a little-cited paper by two Swedish scientists who use a computer program to give a numerical account of what everyone knew: curling a flat eye can theoretically increase visual resolution.

But whence came the flat eye, the light-sensitive spot? Modern science has shown that the "simplest" eye-spot requires a cascade of protein molecules—rhodopsin, transducin, rhodopsin kin-

ase, and more—which must interact with one another at the level of the cell to produce vision. What causes a flat eye to curl up? There are dozens of complex proteins which control cell shape, with dozens more controlling the association of cells. In fact, the problem with all of Dawkins's evolutionary stories is that they speak of changes in whole animals or whole organs at once, ignoring the fundamental insight of modern biology that life is based on highly specific, complex interactions of molecules. A serious study of the possible Darwinian evolution of biological novelty would have to begin with molecules.

Of the thousands of scientific papers published on vision, *none* explains in detail how the visual cycle could have arisen by Darwinian principles. Nor do the very numerous papers in science journals contain explanations for the origins of any other complex molecular system—such as intracellular transport, the bacterial flagellum, or the blood-clotting cascade. The ominous silence of modern biology on the origin of the molecular basis of life pushes Dawkins back to the level of gross anatomy, where Darwin and other nineteenth-century scientists were stuck.

Why would a popularizer ignore so much relevant modern science? Because Dawkins doesn't want the public to understand science so much as to understand that science (the study of matter in motion) is in charge. "What are all of us if not [replicating] robots? . . . We roam the world looking for the raw materials needed to . . . eventually assemble another robot capable of the same feats." Such pedestrian materialism is congenial to scientists who cover the role of guru, but finds little in science journals to justify it.

Despite his elastic imagination, the picture that modern biology paints of life is less like Dawkins's vision than E. B. White's. From *Charlotte's Web*, a conversation between Wilbur the pig and Charlotte the spider:

"O.K.," replied Wilbur. "You coach me and I'll spin one. It must be a lot of fun to spin a web. How do I start?"

"Take a deep breath!" said Charlotte, smiling. Wilbur breathed deeply. "Now climb to the highest place you can get to, like this." Charlotte raced up to the top of the doorway. Wilbur scrambled to the top of the manure pile.

"Very good!" said Charlotte. "Now make an attachment with your spinnerets,

hurl yourself into space and let out a drag-line as you go down!"

... the next thing he knew he landed with a thump. "Ooomp!" he grunted.

Charlotte laughed so hard her web began to sway. . . .

"You can't spin a web, Wilbur, and I advise you to put the idea out of your

mind. You lack two things needed for spinning a web."

"What are they?" Wilbur asked, sadly.

"You lack a set of spinnerets, and you lack know-how."

Where spinnerets and know-how come from, science hasn't the foggiest idea. □

Religious Right?

JAMES HITCHCOCK

THE phenomenon of the Religious Right is fascinating in part because of its volatility. Jerry Falwell made "Moral Majority" a term liberals used to scare naughty children, then suddenly he announced the movement's dissolution. Knowing commentators explained why "funda-

Active Faith: How Christians Are Changing the Soul of American Politics, by Ralph Reed (Free Press, 311 pp., \$35)

mentalists" could never succeed politically, only to have the Christian Coalition emerge full-blown from the failed political candidacy of Pat Robertson.

Ralph Reed, the Coalition's executive director, explains how it happened—in a matter-of-fact, disarmingly candid way likely to leave some readers with the suspicion that it cannot have been that simple. In Reed's account the Moral Majority failed because it lacked political sophistication. But in the crucible of Robertson's quixotic bid for the 1988 Republican presidential nomination, the Religious Right learned much. The Coalition has now made itself a major player in national political battles.

Much of the story involves the nuts and bolts of politics, about which Reed is sketchy, "going local" being the chief tactic he points to. More importantly, the Coalition learned how to forge other national political coalitions and how to allay the suspicions of its critics.

In an entirely positive sense, Reed's account illustrates the Christian teaching that all men are sinners, so that even the best of motives are tinged with selfishness. Thus Reed courageously repudiates the white racism of which some conservative Christians were (some perhaps still are) guilty, going so far as to say that they should admit that on this

question "the liberals were right." He repudiates several of the more scurrilous attacks on President Clinton, and he has acknowledged the anti-Catholicism that defeated Alfred E. Smith and was used against John F. Kennedy. But each of these confessions is also politically useful in broadening the Coalition's potential base of support and in polishing its image, an ambiguity that can only be called Niebuhrian.

Here the irony is that, while the Coalition has often been attacked as a gang of hate-mongering extremists, a case can be made that Reed's appreciation for practical politics has robbed the movement of some of its prophetic character. Coalition-building is of course an axiom in practical politics, but it is an extremely delicate process, in terms of who is co-opting whom and whose agenda will dominate. Reed is aware of the slipperiness of this terrain, but his account does not explain in detail how to keep one's feet.

A crisis of sorts occurred in 1994, when Mr. Reed seemed to say that the Coalition was now stressing "broadly based" issues like term limits and a balanced budget, which it had found to be in fact its members' primary concerns. Various pro-lifers accused Reed of compromising on the abortion issue. He indignantly denies it, but his explanation shows that abortion was deliberately placed on the back burner in the interest of "reaching out."

Similarly, he recounts his discussions with Newt Gingrich over the Contract with America, and Gingrich's decision to de-emphasize the "social issues." Reed endorses this as an astute political tactic, without noting that the Contract soon ran into disaster, at least partly

Mr. Hitchcock is a professor of history at St. Louis University. His most recent book is The Recovery of the Sacred (Ignatius).

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because social conservatives did not see their agenda in it. Just conceivably, uncompromising principle may sometimes also be smart politics.

Understandably Reed is sensitive to the media, whose treatment of the Coalition would constitute a whole course in the abuse of journalistic ethics, if journalism schools ever acknowledged ideological bias. But Reed's repeated boasts about how he avoided media traps, confounding those who were trying to demonize him, usually involve his failing to take the strong and unambiguous stand that was expected of him.

Although there are credible rumors that unofficially the Coalition was supporting Robert Dole in the Republican primaries this year, Reed insists that it merely tried to keep all its options open, pointing out that Patrick Buchanan's protectionism was not acceptable to many Coalition members and that some found his views on Israel appalling.

Yet it remains to be seen whether Dole is appropriately grateful. For several weeks this summer he seemed inclined to give the Christian Right the back of his hand at every opportunity, and no one supposes that he either understands the social issues very well or is in any way passionate about them.

Reed remains fascinated by the Perot phenomenon, or, perhaps more accurately, envious of the Perot vote, which he hopes might become the Coalition's own. To that end he has, once again, stressed secular issues and ignored moral ones when necessary.

A political leader cannot be expected to be a theologian, and some of Reed's passing remarks about the spiritual basis

of his activism suggest once again the primacy of the politician over the believer, the need to tailor the message in such a way as to defuse criticism.

Stung by hateful allegations that religious conservatives are hateful, Reed is at pains to insist that he does not characterize anyone as un-Christian and that his opponents are always motivated by good intentions. But those judgments

*Some of Reed's
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are sometimes simply unsupportable. Some of what now passes for Christianity is a repudiation of the entire Christian tradition, and some people in public life promote causes that they know quite well will have radically destabilizing effects on society. It is a treacherous business to condemn others' sins without exalting one's own virtue, and it is especially treacherous when done in a political context. But not to do it is to blunt all moral sensibility.

In the end the verdict on the Christian Coalition will depend on the look of the country a decade from now. The jury is still out on whether Ralph Reed is a shrewd and principled leader who can reawaken the country's moral sense through skillful political activity, without at some point earning the media's Strange New Respect award. □

or unselfishness. But the very nervous defiance with which they shout their dissatisfaction shows that they know they are a despised minority."

"There are in the world no compositions which approach nearer to perfection," Lord Macaulay raved. Hilaire Belloc awarded Austen an "alpha plus . . . because she has excelled in the quality of proportion—which is another way of saying in telling the truth." He compared her art to "an inlay of silver upon pale wood"—presumably not the wood of literary snuff-boxes. Others have been less enthusiastic. To Charlotte Brontë, Austen was "very incomplete and rather insensible"; to Emerson, "vulgar in tone, sterile in artistic invention." Mark Twain went further: "To me, Poe's prose is unreadable—like Jane Austen's. No, there is a difference. I could read his prose on a salary, but not Jane's."

Actually, if nervous defiance applies to anyone, it is rather to Austen's champions. So Dorothy Van Ghent has written, "It is wronging an Austen novel to expect of it what it makes no pretense to rival—the spiritual profundity of the very greatest novels. But if we expect artistic mastery of limited materials, we shall not be disappointed." That is relatively calm; Cecil is overwrought. While admitting that "Austen's imaginative range was, in some respects[!], a very limited one," he nonetheless makes a virtue of the author's "exclud[ing] from her books all aspects of life that cannot pass through the crucible of her imagination." True enough, but how much can one exclude and still be a major novelist?

The problem with *Emma*—both the novel and the movie written and directed by the American Douglas McGrath—is the smugness of the heroine. Or perhaps of the narrator. In *Critical Understanding*, Wayne C. Booth shrewdly observes, "Nobody was ever so marvelous as the implied author of *Emma*." Heroine or author-narrator, someone exudes a little too much priggishness and snobbery for me to swallow. Of course, we are to perceive these as defects, as Emma herself eventually realizes; but maybe meddlesome priggishness and snobbishness are harder to accept from a protagonist than murder and rapine.

The problem is compounded by the casting of the American Gwyneth Paltrow as Emma. An actress of charm, tact, and talent could reconcile us to

FILM

Emma without Emma

JOHN SIMON

OF Jane Austen's *Emma*, Walter Allen writes in *The English Novel*, "It is the high point of Miss Austen's comedy"; Lord David Cecil accounts it "Austen's profoundest comedy"; Harold Bloom declares it "Austen's masterpiece." The Janeites, to be sure, are an excitable lot. So E. M.

Mr. Simon is NR's film critic.

Forster begins a review, "I am a Jane Austenite, and therefore slightly imbecile about Jane Austen." "As a master of her craft," Cecil avers, "she outshines them all." Again: "So far from being a manufacturer of literary snuff-boxes, [she] is one of the few supreme novelists of the world." And, to top it all, "There are those who do not like her; as there are those who do not like sunshine

Emma's (and Jane Austen's) smugness. The paltry Miss Paltrow has none of the above, and mostly mugs and postures. Instead of playing subtly against the grain, she minces and attitudinizes with it. Even so, thanks to viewers' and reviewers' benightedness and to media

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In what may be the best short discussion of Austen ("Regulated Hatred," in *Scrutiny*, March 1940), D. W. Harding argues persuasively: "In Jane Austen's treatment the natural order of things manages to reassert the heroine's proper pre-eminence without the intervention of any human or quasi-human helper. In this respect she allies the Cinderella theme to another fairy-tale theme which is often introduced—that of the princess brought up by unworthy parents but never losing the delicate sensibilities which are an inborn part of her."

Harding shows how with *Emma* Austen progresses beyond that stage: the heroine is less superior, and her parents are less inferior. For me, the problem remains; *Emma* is what Oscar Wilde lampooned about Victorian novels: "The good ended happily, and the bad unhappily. That is what fiction means." That is certainly what Austen's fiction means: a plain and obscure spinster's written revenge on an uncaring world. Austen punishes her enemies and rewards her friends. But the biggest plum always falls to her fictional alter ego: she marries the best man (here suggestively named Mr. Knightley) and lives happily ever after. Audiences lap it up; *that* rather than any literary merit explains Austen's success in the current cinema.

Yet this fearful symmetry leaves the works so predictable. McGrath's film version, like other such adaptations, can

only make the predictability even greater: a film must cut to the chase faster than a leisurely paced novel, and cannot curtain the outcome behind so many descriptions, digressions, convolutions, and subplots. McGrath has adapted reasonably well, but he has directed with a number of contemporary cinematic tricks that feel anachronistic. Thus he will intercut an embellished account of a charitable expedition to the hovel of a starving family with quick—and embarrassingly funny—flashbacks to what actually happened. This is too jazzy—and too obvious—for Austen.

The British supporting cast does mainly well. Jeremy Northam offers a credibly dashing Knightley, as opposed to the incredibly dashing Darcy of Laurence Olivier in the Hollywood *Pride and Prejudice*. His transitions from irony to exasperation, from *hauteur* to involvement, are finely judged and smoothly executed. As Mr. Elton, the smarmy parson, Alan Cumming is exemplary. During the chaise ride in



which he discovers that Emma's interest was solely in matching him up with the no-account Harriet Smith, and that his amorous advances to herself repelled her, Cumming's eruption of thwarted passion and injured self-regard is a masterpiece of comic-pathetic bravura. The gorgeous Greta Scacchi, sadly showing her age, is winningly warm as Emma's beloved governess; Polly Walker, in the here shortchanged part of Jane Fairfax, makes up for truncation with great beauty and personal appeal. Edward Woodall does nicely by what is left of farmer Martin, Harriet's devoted suitor.

As the presumptuous chatterbox Mrs. Elton, Juliet Stevenson is comically bone-chilling; as the pitiful bore Miss Bates, Emma Thompson's sister, Sophie, overacts amusingly. Toni Collette's Harriet is properly befuddled and frustrated; only Ewan McGregor, good in a very different role in *Trainspotting*, is weak as the heartthrob Frank Churchill. Austen describes him as "very good-looking," and she specifies his "height"; neither applies to the callow and stubby actor. Ian Wilson's cinematography is uneven, but the score by Rachel Portman, incorporating period tunes, proves her yet again one of our finest soundtrack composers. □

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(signed) Jason Ng, Circulation Manager.

Stones & Bones

DAVID KLINGHOFFER

FROM one perspective, American Jews like me with a "position" on the peace process in Israel are an annoying group of people. Safe in their homes on West End Avenue or Beverly Drive, how dare they instruct Israelis either to hold on to land or give it up to the Arabs? But from another perspective the question looks entirely different: the perspective given when you have that land under your own feet.

Take, for instance, the minuscule plot of land under the Pillar of Absalom in East Jerusalem. The Second Book of Samuel tells the story of Absalom, a son of King David who caught one of his half-brothers trying to seduce his sister, led a rebellion against his father, and died in the attempt. The sequence of events caused David to voice his famous lament, providing the title of a Faulkner novel: "O Absalom, Absalom, my son, my son." After concluding this tale, the Bible notes that at some point Absalom set up a pillar outside Jerusalem, which stands "to this day."

Yad Avshalom, as it is called in Hebrew, does indeed stand beneath Jerusalem's Temple Mount to this day, a short distance into the city's Arab district, down a slope from the ancient Mount of Olives cemetery in a dusty crease in the earth called the Kidron Valley. Or at least a structure called "*Yad Avshalom*" stands there, four-sided with a roof like an inverted funnel, desolate and haunting. Archaeologists identify it as a Sadducee tomb from the Roman period, a thousand years after Absalom lived.

Either way, drawn by the pathos of David's son, on my final day in Israel during a week there last month, I simply had to see it. In seven chapters, Absalom's story encapsulates the pitfalls of being a father and being a son, and pictures I had seen of the pillar showed a monument that somehow perfectly encapsulates Absalom. Jews and Christians used to throw rocks at it. Thanks to the hostile elements in the country's Arab population, I had been compelled to

give up on visiting some other Bible-related locations, but this one I was determined not to miss.

The trick was to navigate a safe path around Jerusalem's Arabs. It is a long-standing problem.

Like countless other pilgrims, I went to Jerusalem to see old rocks. The city became a pilgrimage destination for Jews after the construction of Solomon's Temple almost three thousand years ago and remained one after the Temple was torn down by Babylon in 586 B.C.E., built again after 538 with help from Persia's King Cyrus, rebuilt by Herod, and torn down again by

Like countless other pilgrims to Jerusalem, I went to see old rocks

Rome in 70 C.E. From the earliest decades of Mohammed's career, the Temple Mount was similarly beloved by his followers, because of the Moslem belief that Mohammed ascended to Heaven from a rock there. The same rock, now under the Dome of the Rock, may have been the Foundation Stone in the Temple's Holy of Holies, on which the Ark of the Covenant rested and under which, says the Talmud, the Ark was buried in 587 B.C.E.

As Karen Armstrong tells it in her useful new book *Jerusalem*, the early Christians had mixed feelings about such earthly artifacts. The Arian doctrine asserted that Jesus's human body was incidental to his divinity and thus that locations connected with his doings in the Holy Land should be accorded little importance. Arianism was rejected, though, at the Council of Nicaea (325), and Christians began to develop a taste for historical stones. Whereas Jews merely kiss the remaining limestone blocks from Herod's Temple, Christians were in the habit of stroking, stretching themselves out upon, and even licking their principal holy artifacts: especially

the monolithic Rock of Golgotha, containing the tomb of Jesus, housed in the Church of the Holy Sepulcher until Moslems hacked it to pieces in 1009.

The history of Jerusalem can be summarized as a protracted war for control of artifacts like Golgotha, a war accompanied by continual destruction. From the job done on Solomon's Temple by the Babylonians, a single, tiny object remains, on view today in Jerusalem's Israel Museum: an ivory pomegranate, rose-colored and astonishingly delicate, with the words *Kadosh Kohanim Beit haShem*, "Sanctified to the Priests of the House of the Lord," scratched into its side. The Romans did even more damage, plowing the ground with salt when they had got done burning the buildings. (Unlike other types of stone, limestone, from which much of Herod's Temple was built, has the unusual property of rather easily catching fire.) As for bloodshed, the Crusaders take first prize. Pouring over the city walls in 1099, they proceeded to kill *everybody*: about thirty thousand people, mostly Moslems.

It isn't immediately obvious what quality inherent in mere physical objects should inspire such passion and fury. They are, after all, just things, and monotheists revere no one and nothing but God. At least that's the idea.

In contrast to other building materials, stones do possess a certain eternalness. They remind you of God. A man can plant a tree, cut it down, and build a house from it. He can't make a rock.

But the coveted artifacts of the Holy Land include stuff besides stones: bones, for instance. One day I took a bus north to Safed, a hillside town long associated with Jewish mysticism. At the bottom of the hill lies an old cemetery where a particularly famous mystic, Isaac Luria, was buried in 1572. The passion for bones produced a scene there that appeared to be out of an Italian art film. Unlike American graveyards, this one had no grass; many of the graves were covered over in concrete. Rabbi Luria's grave had been painted a sky blue, and around it crowded fifty or so ultra-Orthodox hasidim in black caftans, praying fervently and lighting candles. The candles had been placed in storm lanterns to protect them from the wind that drove dust into everyone's face. I was the only non-hasid around, except for a beautiful girl who sat nearby, bare legs extended and crossed in the dust, smoking a cigarette

Mr. Klinghoffer is NR's literary editor.

and reading a book. Correction: a *bad* Italian art film.

Even the spots where bones used to be draw determined visitors. The patriarch Joseph died in Egypt but his bones were brought to Israel by Moses and Joshua and buried in Shechem, the location of the grave preserved through tradition. Some relatives of mine have a tradition of their own: to give each son his first haircut in the little whitewashed synagogue above Joseph's tomb. They invited me to go with them for the first haircut of one of their grandsons.

The difficulty is Shechem, now called Nablus and turned over to the Palestinian Authority. If you are not an Arab, to visit the tomb you must go to a certain Israeli military base, board a bullet-proof bus, and be escorted by two jeeps driven by well-armed Israeli soldiers. Having made it to the tomb safely, I suddenly felt fired up with a passion to see still more historic tombs. When I read a few days later that Joseph's bones are not there at all—they were removed by the Byzantines and brought to Constantinople—the fact failed to dim my enthusiasm.

To the contrary. The more artifacts, and previous locations of artifacts, I saw, the more of them I wanted to see. Again and again, the Arabs prevented me. Two particular disappointments were the City of David and Hebron.

Three thousand years ago, Jerusalem was situated just south of the present city walls. The remains of the old citadel, David's citadel, can be seen today. Or rather the site can be seen at one's own risk, for it happens to be situated in the middle of an Arab neighborhood. "No one goes there," an Israeli warned me, meaning no non-Arabs.

"No one goes to Hebron unless he's crazy," I was also told. Yet for about a day I was determined to try it myself—to visit the Cave of the Patriarchs, burial place of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, now surrounded by Arabs. A cab driver said he would drive me down and back, an hour each way, for \$150: not an unreasonable fare since, as he delicately put it, "They are having a little bit of riots there." I said, No thanks.

The only group of white people one consistently sees in such districts are Israeli soldiers—who, to be precise, are not all white. A friend who used to live in the Old City told me that these days



he would advise any American pilgrim, Jewish or Christian, to keep out of the Moslem and even the Christian Quarter—the latter of which is inhabited not by Presbyterians, as I vaguely imagined it, but by Christian Arabs. The Via Dolorosa, which runs through the Moslem Quarter, I thought must be relatively safe. Yet even on that famous tourist street I at one point found myself the only non-Arab in sight. It was a relief to come across two soldiers, one Sephardic-looking, the other Ethiopian, stationed at a crook in the road, machine guns in their laps.

WHEN it comes to guarding pilgrims and pilgrimage sites, previous regimes have compiled a mixed record. The city's first Moslem ruler, Caliph Umar, adopted a benign attitude to members of the other two faiths. The Crusaders were atrocious to everyone. Saladin, who took the city from them in 1187, expelled the Frankish Christians, but let the Greek, Syrian, and Armenian Christians stay, and allowed the Jews to return to the city. Under the Mamluks and Ottomans, the Moslem authorities would periodically become outraged at the fact that infidels controlled what they considered Moslem holy places, like the Holy Sepulcher Church and the Tomb of David, and either tear them down or turn them into mosques. In the fifteenth century, Christian pilgrims arriving at the port in Jaffa were warned to have no contact with Moslems at all, for fear of their lives. More recently, under Jordan's custodianship of the Old City, which ended in 1967, only a few tourists were allowed in from West Jerusalem, and only if they could produce baptismal certificates.

Since then, the Israelis have done what perhaps no other government in the land has ever done: attempt to guarantee the safe passage of any pilgrim, of any faith, to any site he wishes to visit. Often the attempt fails, as in Hebron. But in the context of Holy Land history, the willingness of a government to risk its own soldiers—like the ones I passed on the Via Dolorosa—to secure free access to the revered artifacts of all three faiths, for all members of all three, stands out as a distinct anomaly.

The Israelis, it seems, recognize the mysterious power of old stones and old bones. Though the Byzantines were

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wrong to make off with Joseph's mortal remains the way they did, you have to sympathize with them. They were possessed by the power of bones.

In Israel, where that power comes from became clear to me. Jews, Christians, and Moslems agree that we live in a time poised between Revelation and Redemption, when God declines to speak to men in public. In comparison to the Biblical period and the Time to Come, His Presence in the world is masked. God exists everywhere at all times, but He has existed with greater intensity at certain times and places, most of the latter located in Israel.

We happen to have some physical remnants of those places. Not much remains of Herod's Temple, but you can hire a guide and enter the tunnels under the Moslem Quarter, where you can see and touch the lower courses of the Temple's platform. Following the tunnel you reach a spot said to be closer than any other, any that Jews can visit at least, to the vanished Holy of Holies, where even today God's Presence is supposed to be concentrated to a greater degree than anywhere else in the world. To visit it is to visit God.

In this period between Revelation and Redemption, religion is a matter of remembering: for Jews, it is remembering the event at Mt. Sinai; for Christians, Golgotha. People alive at the time of those events were forced to choose between assent and denial, a choice we are all still forced to make today. When we visit holy sites, the choice is brought before us with more power than it possibly can be in, say, Manhattan. Artifacts have that power, as we know from other experiences. I was reminded of it recently when I went through the letters I had exchanged with the first girl I ever really loved. Reading the dear markings she had made with a ballpoint pen on some pieces of paper, I found myself hopelessly in love with her all over again.

Israel, you see, is a reliquary filled with scraps of old letters from God. The country's present government, whatever its faults, stands guard over everyone's old scraps and does its best to keep them accessible to us all.

IDID eventually make it to the obscure scrap called Absalom's Pillar. A Jewish taxi driver offered to take me there and back—a five-minute ride each way—for \$20, a high fare since he was entering Arab territo-

ry. He had never heard of the Pillar, but gamely zoomed around the Lion Gate, across the Jericho Road, and quickly got lost in East Jerusalem. As his body hunched closer and closer to the steering wheel and he tugged with increasing frequency at his shirt collar. I was about to call the expedition off.

Then it occurred to me to show him a tiny drawing of the Pillar on a tourist map. A minute later we were there. While he guarded the car, I looked for a path down the sandy embankment. He had promised me three minutes with the Pillar, no more, so I had to run down and run back up. The experience was worth the trouble. There is something otherworldly about Absalom's Pillar. Strangely in this desert-encompassed city, I could hear rushing water—from the Gihon spring, ancient Jerusalem's sole source of water. Forlorn in the valley bottom, the Pillar seemed to mean something that cannot quite be expressed in words. That is the way of pilgrimage sites.

The next morning at 5 A.M. I was waiting outside in the dark for a taxi van to Ben-Gurion Airport. My hotel, the YMCA, is across the street from the

King David Hotel. The taxi was late, so I sat in front of the Y with my suitcase, watching some very low clouds flying, at what seemed an unnaturally accelerated speed, over the top of the King David toward the Temple Mount. I could easily imagine that they were ghosts, unquiet ghosts, of the many people who have died trying to secure their access to Jerusalem.

Access, in particular, to its stones. Discussions of the country's political future generally focus on security concerns, while the spiritual significance of Israel's control of the land tends to get relegated to rhetorical flourishes. It might seem frivolous to ask that spiritual criteria be used, pre-eminently, to judge any scheme for peace. But the security question has not been shown to have a definite answer. The question of Israel's future as a depository of holy objects, on the other hand, its status as the world's greatest open reliquary, is obscured by no such ambiguities.

By controlling the land, Israel seeks to quiet the ghosts of Jerusalem. That it be permitted and encouraged to do so is a matter in which everyone who cares about the Bible has a stake. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

Vital Signs: Essays on American Literature and Criticism, by James W. Tuttleton (Ivan R. Dee, 366 pp., \$27.50)

THIS book approaches the status of an ideal literary object. Professor Tuttleton has managed to produce a luminous fusion of extensive scholarship and literary discernment. He succeeds in this because he has assimilated his learning and wears it lightly. Like any reader, I tend to test a book first on the things I know best. Here I find that his essays on Hemingway and Scott Fitzgerald are among the most valuable I have read on those authors. His opening essay on Francis Parkman will lead many readers back to that epic American historian. Tuttleton's rescue of Kate Chopin from the feminists is both humorous and cleansing. On the sort of contemporary criticism that directs attention away from the literary work and to the critic, he is rightly and stingingly severe. Even experts will learn much from these essays, and the general reader will be delighted.

—JEFFREY HART

The Silent Subject: Reflections on the Unborn in American Culture, edited by Brad Stetson (Praeger, 288 pp., \$59.95)

THIS collection of essays has a psychological effect much like night thoughts, those disturbing images that can come to mind while you lie awake. The essayists lift the veil off something unnatural, almost demonic, that has altered the intellectual and spiritual landscape dramatically in 25 years: a near-miracle of dishonesty in constitutional law, cowardice on the part of politicians, self-deception by women about the actual range of options for dealing with unwanted pregnancy. When it comes to abortion, most of us have our heads in the sand. The worst part is that our sense of moral outrage on the subject has nearly been extinguished. As one author laments about the degree of our cultural decline, we can now hardly hope for a reversal on abortion. This is a chilling book, which offers—despite the drab titles given to the essays—fresh insights, and thus some rare encouragement.

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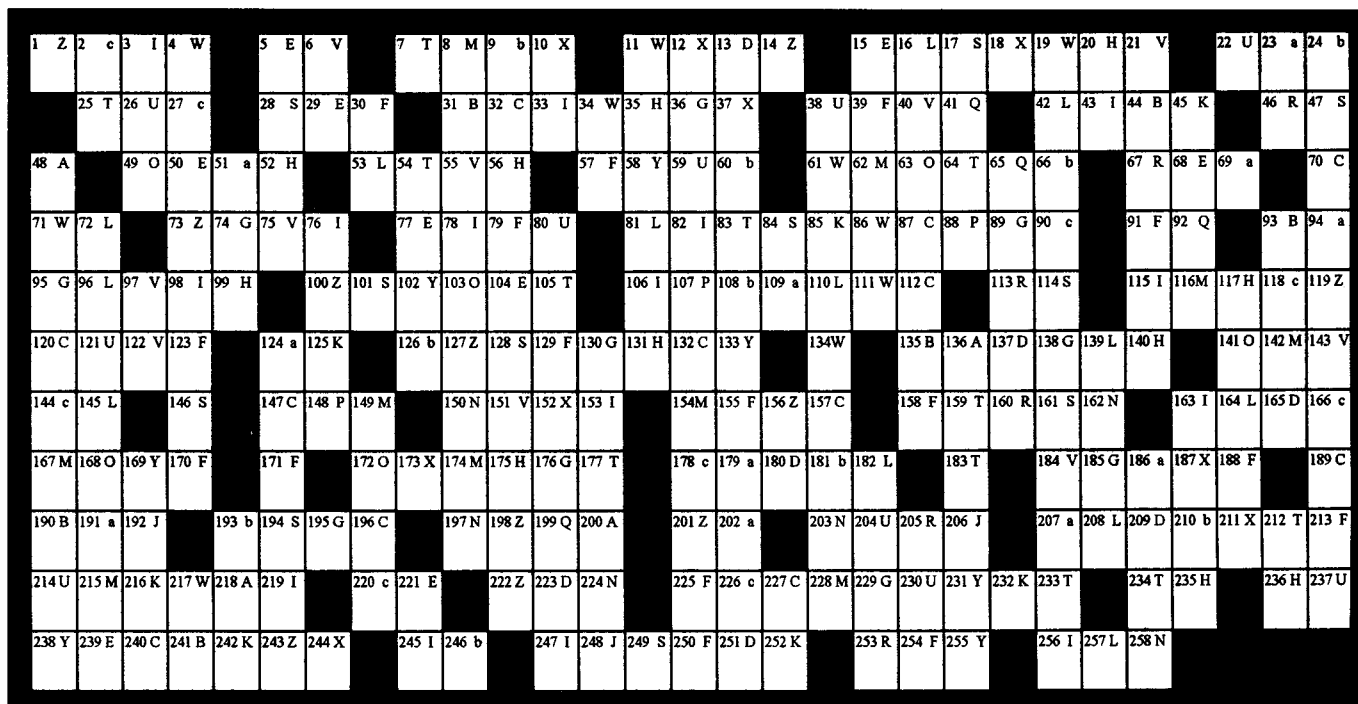
PONNURU (Continued from page 27)

Salvi is up 12 points among the 51 per cent of likely voters who remember seeing a Salvi ad, and down 19 points among the rest: "It's just a matter of getting our message across." Haley Barbour says that "Illinois breaks late for Republicans." It may yet happen this year.

"The only dark cloud on the horizon," says Roeser, "is Bob Dole, and it's not going anywhere." So far Salvi has been running ahead of Dole. Salvi can be counted on to mobilize the conservative base even if Dole demoralizes it. But there's also the perennial question of how many votes Democrats will steal in Cook County.

Within minutes of my first meeting with Salvi, another reporter whispered to me, "I don't think this guy has any chance of winning." That seems to be the conventional wisdom—which, a few months ago, held that Salvi would lose the primary. If indeed Salvi loses, he'll be in good company: this is, after all, the state that rejected Abraham Lincoln's Senate bid. Whatever happens in this race, we probably haven't heard the last of Al Salvi. □

TRANS-O-GRAM / Siegfried R. Reiner



DEFINITIONS

- A. Atlantic Seaboard catch 200 218 136 48
- B. Bids 190 135 31 241 44 93
- C. Feminine arts (2 words) 189 227 147 32 132 87 112 70 120 240 157
- D. Germany's "Meister" mystic (1260-1327) 209 165 180 223 13 251 137
- E. Teenage businessman's productive capital 104 50 5 221 15 77 239 68 29
- F. How free marketeers were received before Friedman (4 words) 79 171 250 170 213 30 123 39 254 91 129
- G. Earth's protective layer 74 229 130 185 195 95 138 176 36 89
- H. One who steers clear of party wrangles (2 words) 235 140 56 35 99 175 131 52 236 20 117
- I. Popular patriarchal-era TV sitcom (3 words) 247 106 245 82 76 98 153 78 43 256 219
- J. Likable American President 248 192 206
- K. Declined 232 45 125 216 85 252 242
- L. Ovid's magnum opus, or never-ending Clinton odyssey 53 139 81 16 42 72 208 96 257 110 145
- M. "Praise the Lord, and pass the _____!" (Chaplain Forgy at Pearl Harbor) 142 167 154 116 228 62 174 8 215 149
- N. Professorial, academic 203 150 162 224 197 258
- O. Not susceptible 168 172 141 103 63 49
- P. Military front 88 148 107
- Q. Nevada oasis between Winnemucca and Wendover 199 65 41 92
- R. With hands on hips and elbows bent 46 205 160 67 113 253
- S. He was crowned emperor on Christmas Day, 800 128 101 146 17 161 114 84 28 249 47 194
- T. "Cry 'havoc,' and let slip _____" (Antony, 4 words) 212 159 83 105 54 64 233 234 7 25 183
- U. Where John Paul Jones intended to sail (3 words) 230 237 26 204 214 22 121 38 59 80
- V. Not just underpaid 97 75 6 40 184 151 55 143 122 21
- W. Belladonna 4 19 217 71 11 61 34 134 111 86
- X. What many Republicans prayed for in the primaries (2 words) 10 187 152 211 12 173 18 37 244
- Y. Never idle (3 words) 238 169 255 58 231 133 102
- Z. Hillary's Jean Houston? 243 73 198 100 14 1 156 201 222 127 119
- a. Austrian-born Zionist, theologian (*Ich und Du*; 2 words) 186 179 51 202 124 69 207 94 109 23 191
- b. She was first to lose her head for Henry VIII (2 words) 210 24 60 66 126 246 193 181 108 9
- c. Second-year student 90 27 118 2 166 178 220 226 144

Solution to last issue's Trans-O-Gram. F. A. HAYEK: *The Road to Serfdom*: "We have progressively abandoned that freedom in economic affairs without which personal and political freedom has never existed in the past. Although we had been warned by some of the greatest political thinkers that socialism means slavery, we have steadily moved in the direction of Socialism."

ON THE RIGHT / Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

Get Out The Hip-Hop Vote

NEW YORK, AUGUST 21

Two news releases advise us of current exercises in democratic practice. The first is an enterprise its sponsors call the "hip-hop nation." It is specifically directed to "keep African-Americans involved in American politics."

Rock the Vote has joined with L.L. Cool J's Camp Cool Foundation and together they have created the Hip Hop Coalition for Political Change. The objective is young African-Americans and the design is to attract their attention in every city on the R. Kelley/L.L. Cool J tour, plus a series of television and radio public-service announcements "featuring the likes of Will Smith, Kadeem Hardison, Coolio, Method Man, a reunited New Edition, Shai, Solo, Mokensteff, and many others." The coalition, reports Softline Information Inc.'s The Ethnic NewsWatch, "plans to get the message out to the Black community that it's time to take part in the struggle and make a difference."

Meanwhile, the *New York Times* informs us of the program of a nonprofit organization financed by the recording industry "that revved up the youth vote in 1992." Rock the Vote has launched a service that will fill out voter-registration forms for callers who dial 800-REGIS-TER, or 800-734-4783.

Here is what you do. You dial the number and a voice asks you to tap in your zip code. A voice then reads to you the requirements of the state you live in (it is kindergarten work for a computer to deduce your state from your zip). You are then asked your name and date of birth.

You are then congratulated. In about ten days a completed form arrives in the mail. Rock the Vote even supplies the stamp. "A new voter is born," the *Times* reports. One week before the election, the freshly registered voter will receive a postcard, reminding him to vote. The program, based in Santa Monica, California, hopes to register 500,000 new voters by September 10. The cost of the enterprise is borne by MCI, the communications company, in cooperation with MTV, the television station that features rock music and other saturnalia.

Now all of this has become possible owing to the national Voter Registration Act (the "motor-voter law"). The idea (the Democrats', primarily) was to diminish the clerical burden on the voter. The Act specifies that states must accept voter-registration forms by mail. And further, that motor-vehicle departments, which is where practically everybody turns up at some point or another, must serve as registration agencies. Get a driver's license, register to vote.

The assumption, of course, is that an increase in the number of votes means a marginal increase in Democratic votes. This is quite obvious in the operation of the Hip Hop Coalition, inasmuch as it is explicitly directed to "young African-Americans." Since American blacks vote over 90 per cent Democratic, it isn't likely that adding black votes will do other than enhance Democratic chances.

The Rock the Vote people aren't saying it in as many words, but you know, and I know, that the assumption is that MTV types will, without any interruption in rhythm, be attracted to free-form politics, in this case nicely summarized by the formula, A meets with B to decide how much C should give to D.

The get-out-the-vote fetishists are always declining to make the fundamental distinction, which is between voting for the commonweal, and voting for one's singular interests. It is certainly true that there is as high a percentage of rich people who vote for policies that favor rich people as of poor people who vote for policies that favor the poor. The rich farmer is likely to vote in favor of a continuation of subsidies, the poor farmer in favor of free health care. The moral tale could be lightly made if for instance after you dialed the 800 number and gave your date of birth the voice at the other end of the line were to say, in computer-tone:

"That means, Mr. Squires, that you



"Don't operate any rocks or sticks while using this medication."

were 32 years old on your last birthday. Are you registering to vote for the first time? If so please record which of the following is the motivating impulse that brought you today to the phone, answer A, B, or C. a) I didn't know how to register until I saw this ad. b) I reflected that the time has come to do my civic duty. c) I want to vote for the party that's promising me higher wages/higher pension/better health-care benefits/higher tariffs."

The caller is always free to hang up. Though maybe the next National Voter Register Act will make that illegal. □

The Great Drug Shoot-Out

NEW YORK, AUGUST 23

It takes a little concentration, but I think I have got it down. The Republicans splash the news across the headlines that twice as many adolescents are taking drugs as back in 1992, at the end of a decade during which drug use diminished substantially. Conclude the Republicans: This rise in drug use is the doing of—President Clinton! How come? Because he reduced the anti-drug appropriations budget (slightly). Why else? Because he has not kept alive the Reagan tradition of staying hot on the subject of drugs and continuing the consolidation of public pressure against drug-taking, symbolized by the famous epiphany of Nancy Reagan: Just say no.

But why would Mr. Clinton be indifferent to drug consumption? The spin here reaches a little bit before the left. The reason, one holding gives us, is that the baby boomer is simply unmotivated on the question. After all, didn't he admit, during the campaign of 1992, that he had smoked marijuana, though not inhaled it?—inviting us to marvel not so much at the 100-millionth American who once tried marijuana, but at the survival of a politician who gave birth to one of the most implausible lies in history ("When Marilyn Monroe came in naked, I didn't even look").

But the Republicans had something in hand, because the figures are there, double drug consumption in the past few years (some date the decline to the end of the Gulf War, for complicated psychological and cultural reasons). That means that the Democrats had to come up with something that would arrest the attention of the drug-intensive-minded voters, not excluding that restive community that would like a concrete reason for not voting once again for Bill Clinton. So what

to do? Turn public attention toward cigarettes.

Now this is a high-wire act, as we all know, because there are 48 million smokers who would rather puff away than diminish their chances of early and (often painful) death. Most adult smokers are acquiescent on the general subject of removing temptations from teenagers. As long as they can continue, unmolested, to submit to temptation, they have no reservations about protecting their children from the plight to which they succumbed.

When word first leaked that Mr. Clinton was prepared to ordain that nicotine is a drug (which, of course, it is) there was preliminary hysteria. Did this mean that in the future, tobacco would have to be purchased from the same vendor to whom one now turned for marijuana? What would this do to the legal-liability problem with which the tobacco growers and cigarette manufacturers are every day contending with increasing concern?

Not to worry. The White House revealed the relatively benevolent nature of the President's intentions. By declaring nicotine to be a drug, he would activate authority now missing, which would permit him and the relevant federal agencies empowered to act against drugs to take certain measures they could not otherwise take. Specifically, to forbid advertising tobacco products in media to which young people are regularly exposed, which means all media except good magazines and *The News Hour with Jim Lehrer*. The idea (totally commendable) is to blow the seductive smoke away from the nostrils of the teenager until he has passed age 18, at which point the probability that he will take up cigarettes reduces by 90 per cent. The only obvious victims, at this point, would be the media that lost advertising on account of the injunction.

A second measure proposed by Mr. Clinton is to eliminate the availability of cigarettes in vending machines, perhaps inserting in the vacant slots a variety of condoms. Now this is a serious measure in two ways. The first is the obvious inconvenience to the traveler who limps into the motel at 2 A.M. and everything is closed and he has run out of cigarettes. Knoweth man not frustration, indignation, and anger who has not run into such a situation. A second, if minor, question is the harm that will be done to the vending-machine business. Mars Bars and peanut-butter gooies are one thing, but important as they are, the absence of cigarette revenue is a serious affliction, to the vendor as well as the consumer.

But the political game must go forward, and by democratic standards it is A-okay that one plays about at this level, searching out the utilitarian compromise that keeps most people least unhappy. □

The Two Sides

NEW YORK, AUGUST 6

—What are the two meanings of affirmative action?

1) The original meaning of the term was to help people who were indigent or badly educated. The term metastasized into 2) elevating such people into positions for which they were not objectively qualified.

—What are the two meanings of supply-side economics?

1) Some early enthusiasts for supply side reasoned that the abundance of human ingenuity and the high sensitivity of economic return made it possible to predict that a lightening of the overhead of enterprise would result in a return greater than burden remitted. 2) But people who went that far—the “theologians of supply side,” they were sometimes referred to within the fraternity—were not taken very seriously. Supply side meant, for the overwhelming majority of its supporters, that some of the tax burden remitted would be returned in heightened productivity.

—What are the differences between static and dynamic scoring?

1) You propose, say, reducing taxes by \$100 billion in the coming year. The static people proceed to tell you that at the end of the year revenues will fall by \$100 billion. 2) The dynamic scorers will tell you no, it's going to be less than \$100 billion. Because productivity will rise, and whatever the rate of taxation is left at, revenues will be higher than projected.

—What are the two understandings of what happened during the Reagan “Revolution”?

Critics point to a more than doubling of the national debt. That's true—it went from \$785 billion in 1981 to \$2.1 trillion in 1988. The other side acknowledges this but assigns the blame for it to increases in spending. They point out that although there were substantial tax-rate reductions in the 1981 bill and the 1986 bill, revenues actually rose by over 50 per cent. That datum alone is confirmation of the general meaning of supply side.

—What are the two views of why the deficit rose during the Reagan decade?

The first is that tax rates went down. That view is incorrect. If taxes had not been reduced, it does not follow that rev-

enues would have increased even more than they did. The second view is that there were extraordinary expenses during the Eighties, some necessary, some adventitious. It was, in the view of some, required that we increase spending on the military in order to maintain the pressure on the Soviet Union that—they reason—resulted in an end to the Soviet threat. Other expenses had nothing to do with the Reagan agenda. He did not plan the S&L fiasco, and the entitlements (granted that he should have attempted to do something about them) were written into the law.

—What are the two views about the impact on employment of Reagan/Clinton policies?

Mr. Clinton's champions are citing ten million new jobs in the past four years. That is correct. And during Reagan's tenure there were twenty million new jobs. None during Bush's four years. In part, say the Reaganites, this reflected his lack of enthusiasm for the policies of his predecessor. In part he was simply the victim of the business cycle.

—What are the two views about the need to balance the budget?

Clinton agreed to try to balance the budget within seven years only after the Gingrich landslide of 1994. Before that, he had been talking ten years. He vetoed a Republican-led measure to adopt a constitutional amendment requiring a balanced budget. He and his spokesmen are taking the position that the proposed tax reductions of Dole indefinitely postpone any prospect of a balanced budget. Dole argues that the tax reductions will have the effect of lightening the burden on productivity, which will increase revenues.

—What are the comparable rates in GDP increases?

Under Reagan, annual growth, even with the 1981–82 recession, was at 1.3 per cent. Under Clinton, 0.7 per cent.

—What are the proposed economies of the two schools of thought?

The Clinton people aren't proposing any substantial reductions. Dole's spokesmen have said that he would not touch Social Security or Medicare or Medicaid. That leaves economic tidbits.

—What about fairness?

Dole wants to go back, roughly speaking, to the 1986 tax level. That tax level was passed by a Democratic Congress, Teddy Kennedy included.

—What would you do?

Eliminate the capital-gains tax and have a maximum tax rate of 28 per cent.

—What would happen?

I'd lose the election. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

THE MISANTHROPE'S CORNER

FLORENCE KING

ON the final night of the Democrat convention, a glowering Robert Novak assessed today's kinder, gentler version of the old quadrennial bash: "It's been feminized!"

I said the same thing in one of my books, but the poet Wallace Stevens said it better than both of us: "It is the sun that shares our works; the moon shares nothing: it is a sea."

A rising tide of tears and amniotic fluids sank all boats in San Diego and Chicago, leaving everyone convention-tossed. Never before have so many people had the menopause in public. The soggy narratives that floated the podiums in bathos even repelled some touchy-feely liberals, to judge from the tortured spins they put on them. Thomas Moore, who writes spirituality books, called them "cultural bonding experiences" and equated them with ancient myths. He was seconded by George Stephanopoulos, who said stories of travail and tribulation have been the stuff of myths "from time immemorial."

Maybe it helps to be Greek. The only potential myth I saw was Elizabeth Dole, condemned to roam the world throughout eternity telling people how wonderful her husband is, only to discover at the last that her mike was broken the whole time and she has to start all over again.

It makes little difference which convention was worse, though it was only to be expected that the Dems, having the later date, would try to exceed the GOP's excess. They did. Evan Bayh's twins are one baby more than Susan Molinari has; the wounded New York cop is a paraplegic but Christopher Reeve is a quadriplegic, etc.

Anyone who doesn't recognize this as the feminization of one-upmanship should have been with me back when I worked on the *Raleigh News & Observer* and got caught in the crossfire between

two rival sponsors of the North Carolina Mother-of-the-Year contest. Each felt her candidate merited my lead story, and shrank not from telling me why.

"That poor brave soul had three bedridden people in the house at once, and they all wore bags!"

"Bags! Bags make it easy! Mine had to change her epileptic son's diapers and use a catheter on her husband after he lost his privates in the hunting accident. I said to her, I said, 'Honey, you're just a Christian martyr,' I said, but she just smiled and shook her head and went on feeding her retarded nephew."

Female morbid eroticism presented Democrats with a problem. The sensuous sickroom has changed since the halcyon days of flat-on-your-back helplessness. The word "victim" has acquired so many positive associations that women must now do their bearing-up and burden-toting at Wheelchair Basketball and be seen cheering at Special Olympics. Today's handicapped are self-sufficient, athletic invalids are "challenged," and the old male saw, "If you get sick, she's got you good," is heard no more.

You can really hurt a girl this way. To atone, the Democrats scheduled two deathbed arias so that women who feel sexually rejected could say, "That's what America's all about," and really mean it.

What happened in San Diego was the fulfillment of a prophecy. When women first demanded the vote, men argued that politics was too rough-and-tumble for their refined sensibilities. The suffragettes turned the argument around, saying the participation of women would make politics more refined.

The media called the GOP convention "carefully orchestrated," which is a carefully orchestrated way of saying "feminized." To see how their refined show was playing, Republicans turned to the exquisitely named ABC News Pulse, a hand device equipped with buttons used by focus-group participants, who record their reactions to politicians' words,

facial expressions, and tones of voice as they watch TV.

Letting women press a button whenever something upsets them is bound to be edifying. The Pulse became an electronic spider web that trapped the tiniest gnats of gruffness and sarcasm in the silken strands of female finer feeling and delivered them up to dessication—even the Big Mac joke.

Personal stories are in now, so here's mine.

When I was nine, my grandmother's Cousin Elva came to tea. Granny prepared my mother and me carefully for the visit because Elva had had a tragic life, and Granny, the soul of tact, did not want anything said that might remind her of it. Specifically, Elva's son had drowned.

"Don't you-all mention water, you hear me? If poor Elva even hears the word she just goes to pieces. Don't bring up anything that has to do with water. Boats, piers, oars—"

"What are you going to make the tea with?" asked Mama.

"Don't be smart, Louise, you're as bad as the child."

Suddenly she remembered my goldfish and made me move its bowl into the kitchen. As I came back there was a knock at the door.

"There she is. Remember: no water!"

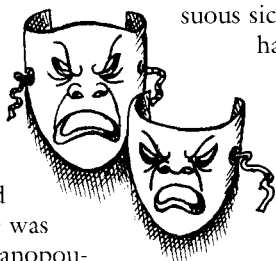
LIKE rope in the hangman's house, the forbidden topic pressed in on us from the start. Our upstairs neighbor ran a bath, the janitor watered the lawn, and my goldfish did one of his splashy flipflops. I had to go to the bathroom but it would mean flushing the toilet.

To complete my agony, I had just finished reading *Anthony Adverse*, notorious for its "water symbolism" sex scenes. I couldn't understand why Anthony swam so much, and my usually mentorish father had refused to explain. Now, in spite of myself, the confusing passages came back to me: "sinking into a warm lagoon" . . . "the waves were cresting, cresting" . . . "the sea was calm now, lapping gently around him."

Just then I made the fatal error of catching my mother's eye. As the giggle hit, a piece of cookie went down wrong and I started to choke. Galvanized by my violent wheezing rales, Cousin Elva leaped up and gave a desperate cry.

"Water!"

With luck this will happen at the next GOP convention. □



Miss King is the author of *The Florence King Reader* and other books.

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